

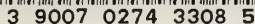




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OBSERVATIONS ON
THE INTELLECTUAL CULTURE
OF THE CARIBOU
ESKIMOS

REPORT OF THE FIFTH THULE EXPEDITION 1921—24
THE DANISH EXPEDITION TO ARCTIC NORTH AMERICA IN CHARGE
OF KNUD RASMUSSEN, PH. D.
VOL. VII. NO. 2

OBSERVATIONS ON
THE INTELLECTUAL CULTURE
OF THE CARIBOU
ESKIMOS

BY
KNUD RASMUSSEN

GYLDENDALSKE BOGHANDEL, NORDISK FORLAG
COPENHAGEN 1930

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KØBENHAVN

Introduction¹⁾.

The Coast Eskimos who lived in the neighbourhood of our headquarters on Danish Island had told us of a remarkable tribe, who spoke the same tongue as they themselves, but who lived their lives in quite another fashion, as they dwelt away in the interior of the country and had no connection with the sea or the hunting of aquatic mammals. We understood that by this they meant the inland dwellers on the Barren Grounds, and of course all the mystery in which our various neighbours enshrouded the life of these Eskimos gave additional impetus to our wish to pay a visit to them. As the sphere of operations of the Expedition extended over very wide areas, we had quickly realized that a division of the work would be necessary from the very first, and we therefore arranged that Dr. Birket-Smith should be the one to have as his main task the studying of these Inland Eskimos, to whom we have given the common name of the Caribou Eskimos. Birket-Smith had the opportunity of going to their area in both 1922 and 1923, and the result of his studies there is now available in Volume V, in the book: *The Caribou Eskimos, Material and Social Life and their Cultural Position*.

As soon as the various groups of the Expedition had been directed to their areas in the winter of 1922, I myself had an opportunity of travelling after Birket-Smith for the purpose of also obtaining a personal impression of the Caribou Eskimos. In May I arrived at Baker Lake, where Birket-Smith was at that time, and thereafter we were able together to spend some months with the Qaernermiut round Baker Lake, the Harvaqtôirmiut, who were in various settlements round the lower course of Kazan River, and finally the Pâdlermiut²⁾ by the big lake Hikoligjuaq and the upper part of Kazan River.

¹⁾ In this section Chapters I—IV have been translated by W. E. Calvert.

²⁾ I take the opportunity here to draw attention to a lack of conformity between *Dr. Birket-Smith's* and my name for the people round Hikoligjuaq, those called Pâdlimiut by Birket-Smith. During our intercourse with them we both used the name Pâdlermiut, which in fact is in accordance with the language used by the well-known student of Eskimology, *Mgr. Turquetil*. After his sojourn among the people at Sentry Island, however, Dr. Birket-Smith has altered his views, which I for my part found no occasion to do. In my opinion they are

While with these people I endeavoured especially to enter into their intellectual life and their religious notions, and in the following I shall describe the results of these studies. But if my statement is to some extent summary and the material is presented in somewhat raw form, it is because this tribe has already been dealt with so thoroughly by Birket-Smith that my contribution aims merely at revealing certain aspects of this people's intellectual culture which are not included in Birket-Smith's book.

It is true that the Caribou Eskimos in these regions have formerly been visited by such prominent travellers as the Tyrrell brothers and by Hanbury, but as these expeditions had other objects than the study of the people, and particularly as none of them could speak Eskimo the material we succeeded in procuring will in all essentials be new.

We had not been long among the Caribou Eskimos before we became aware that we had before us a primitive culture that had originated in the interior. This culture was not only the most original we had hitherto met on all our travels, but — and this to us was of still greater interest — all the particulars we collected there very soon convinced us that we were on the way towards solving one of the most important of the Expedition's problems.

The religion of the Caribou Eskimos was a pronouncedly inland religion, essentially different from that of the coast dwellers, and especially so from the observance of taboo that is found at the coast but up here does not exist in that almost insuperable complex practised by those who have to live on the hunting of aquatic mammals. Their comparatively few taboo rules and the much more simple birth and death customs, made it clear to us that they lived under natural conditions that traditionally were indigenous and natural to them; if only they could obtain sufficient food they always felt secure in their surroundings. Those Eskimos who, on the other hand, had made their way down to the sea, had there come across something new, something that to them was quite unknown and strange, something that had made them feel insecure and had thus given birth to all their very intricate precautions in the form of taboo rules and in changed, more complicated religious ideas. That the sea was something new to them is also supported by the circumstance that none of their implements, in use or out of use, indicated that these Inland Eskimos had ever sojourned by the sea. Nevertheless it quickly appeared that they not only had many survivals in common with the Greenlanders, but

two different tribal names: Páðlimiut: the people at the river mouth out by the sea; a derivative of pâq: river mouth; and Páðlermiut: the people of the willow thicket, a derivative of padlerit: thicket, and this in fact agrees with the character of their area.

that many of their stories in substance and form were quite the same as those we already knew from Greenland.

The late Professor H. P. Steensby in the University of Copenhagen already held the theory that the Eskimos originally had been an inland people, who had come out to the sea from the great lakes in northern Canada and later had adapted the culture that had been created by lakes and rivers to the requirements of the sea and the new game. We ourselves, the more we learned to know these people, came to the conclusion that among these primitive folk we were face to face with an Eskimo culture that could only be regarded as a survival of a very ancient Eskimo culture, perhaps, indeed, a Proto-Eskimo culture from the time when the transformation to a coast culture had not yet taken place. In other words, we were on the verge of solving the great question of the origin of the Eskimos. The theory which could then be formed, and which has been explained in detail in Dr. Birket-Smith's book, is briefly as follows:

The original culture has exclusively been associated with lakes and rivers in the interior. Following after the herds of caribou, or possibly pursued by hostile Indian tribes, the Eskimos have hereafter migrated to the shores of the Arctic Ocean and their implements have undergone an adaptation to the ice of the ocean and have been converted into a Palae-Eskimo culture. The caribou, which move parallel to the shore of Hudson Bay, have then presumably led them down to the region between Coronation Gulf and Boothia Peninsula. From there their wanderings have continued westwards to Alaska. The broad belt of tundra west of Hudson Bay, however, kept back in the interior the whole of that group which we call the Caribou Eskimos, and thus the original Eskimo culture has been preserved there.

At the Bering Strait — still in conformity with Steensby's theory — a Neo-Eskimo culture has later been evolved, and within these regions the hunting of aquatic mammals, especially whale and walrus, from umiak and kayak has passed through a period of unequalled prosperity. Later on there has again been a migration from these regions around Alaska, eastwards through the Northwest Passage, Hudson Bay, Baffin Land, Labrador and right over to Greenland. It is relics of this culture that we find in all the ruins of permanent winter houses along the coast. Finally, in comparatively recent times, there has been an "Eschato-Eskimo" emigration to the coast from the interior; it is these Eskimos whom we now meet for instance at Ig-lulik and Aivilik, and it is they who have obliterated the Alaska culture in the region about Hudson Bay.

It may perhaps be objected that several of the stories among the inland dwellers might indicate a life by the sea and the hunting of

aquatic mammals at some time in the distant past. As examples I will merely mention: "The girl who married a whale", "The song of the seal", "The polar bear who tried his strength against a bull caribou" and many others; these stories may, however, be due to a later influence, and at any rate it is beyond dispute that there has been a comparatively lively intercourse, especially in recent times, between the coast dwellers as far away as the Northwest Passage and the inland dwellers in the Hudson Bay regions; for not only did the former make their way up to the great trading fairs at Akilineq, close to Thelon River, but also because the Inland Eskimos themselves often made journeys down to the coasts and settled there for years. Then again, there is reason for mentioning that one of my principal sources of information as far as the various traditions are concerned, Igjugâruk, together with his wives, is a much travelled man who did not hesitate to make trading journeys, often spending the winter away from home, as far as to the Northwest Passage regions, and he furthermore often visited and lived together with the coast dwellers along the much nearer Hudson Bay.



Typical tundra landscape in Caribou Eskimo hunting grounds.

I.

Journey to the Caribou Eskimos.

It was the task of Birket-Smith and myself to visit the Caribou Eskimos on the Barren Grounds as soon as other duties at headquarters permitted my being absent for a long period. But in order to get the most out of our distribution of the work, Birket-Smith started off early that winter, whereas I was only able to follow in the spring, accompanied by Helge Bangsted and the Greenlander Qâvigarssuaq. At the end of a six weeks' sledge journey we came to a small island, Orpiktujoq, in Baker Lake, which had been agreed upon as a rendezvous and from which the final start into the interior was to be made. There the Hudson's Bay Company has a small post, managed by a man of the name of Henry Ford, and Mr. Ford, who had given every assistance to Birket-Smith during his stay there, now helped us with our final preparations for the last sledge journey of the spring.

By this time we were in the middle of May, and it was not without excitement that we made our way into the complexity of the Barren Grounds. On the way we had heard many harrowing tales of the privation that had prevailed there that winter, and a policeman from Chesterfield, who was out tracking a murderer, was said to have had extraordinary difficulties to contend with, as, wherever he came, the Eskimos were starving and in need. Here, where all hunters have to base the whole of their livelihood upon caribou hunting, disaster very quickly arrives when this fails. The most dangerous time is always the two months that precede the great caribou migration at the end of May, when the animals come from the woodlands to work their way down towards the coast. If the Eskimos have no cached supplies to fall back upon, March and April are always fateful. This was the reason why I was not sorry that our journey had to be made so late in the year. Among starving people, whom we naturally were unable to help, it would be impossible for us to make any profitable study. In addition, travelling conditions in the interior are much more favourable late in spring, when the sun has so much power over the snow that the surface melts by day, to freeze to a crust by night. Over this snow crust, which can bear both dogs and sledges, very long day's journeys can be made. Finally, this late travelling season coincided

with the commencing caribou migration, which would provide us with both dog-feed and supplies for the whole period of our absence. It is true that local people who knew the country had strongly advised us against travelling at this time, as when the snow melted we would find ourselves far into the interior with our sledges and dogs, with no possibility of getting them transported down to the coast. But my fellow-travellers agreed with me in the belief that if we did get to the field of our operations, we would also get back again.

The inland tribes we were to visit had never previously been scientifically studied. All that we had been able to learn was that we would meet two inland tribes if we followed the course of Kazan River far enough into the country. The nearest of these called themselves Harvaqtôrmiut: the people of the whirlpools, and far into the country, in the neighbourhood of the great lake Yathkyed, which is the Indian name for Hikoligjuaq, lived the Pâdlermiut, or the people of the willow thicket. No one could say definitely where the various families were then, as they followed the migration paths of the caribou.

Besides these two tribes, there is occasion to mention as a main group the Qaernermiut, who kept to the environs of Baker Lake and to the country between that lake and the sea-coast; this group, however, who often made journeys down to the coast, had been in rather frequent communication with both the trading post and whalers round Chesterfield and Cape Fullerton, and consequently we would rather get further away to the settlements that were quite uninfluenced, intellectually at any rate, by the white man.

Not far from Baker Lake we came across a small tent camp of some of the Qaernermiut tribe. Here lived an old, blind man by the name of Auruátiaq, who did what he could to induce us to spend the summer with him and his family. He, too, like so many others, argued that it was too late in the year to go into the interior. The rivers would break up before we reached our goal, and we would be left entirely to ourselves in a country that was quite strange to us. As he himself was blind and consequently could not work, he would just be the man I had use for. However, we stuck to our resolution to continue and, during a brief stay, were content to acquire some information. Auruátiaq divided the Caribou Eskimos into Qaernermiut, Harvaqtôrmiut, Pâdlermiut, Tahiuarmiut and Hauneqtôrmiut. Of these the Tahiuarmiut had died out through starvation three years before. Only three men was he able to name as survivors: Ulimaut, Nivkuarhê and Ijerqutikit with their families.

In the literature the Qaernermiut are mentioned under the name of Kinipetu. On the origin of this name, which is only a nickname, Auruátiaq related as follows:

One summer at Marble Island his mother had been on board a whaling ship, and her clothing was wet. The rain was pouring down, and she had pointed to her clothing, which was dripping wet, saying: "kinipato't": "See how wet they are"; she had said this in order that she might be allowed to dry them at the white men's stove, but the word, which no one understood, has since been taken to be the name of her tribe, and this is why all white men called the Qaernermiut the Kinipetu.

Among all Central Eskimos the Qaernermiut are famous for their great skill at treating caribou skin and for the beautiful and festively trimmed clothing they nearly always wear. They are the most cleanly of all the people we have hitherto met, this doubtless having something to do with the fact that, as already mentioned, they have been influenced by the white man more than others. Although they were formerly just as pronouncedly inland dwellers as all the other groups named, under the influence of the whalers they very quickly became skilful sailors in the whale boats, and several of them still possess, as memories of those times, large whale boats in which they undertake daring voyages down to the coast. Most of them spend some time in the neighbourhood of Chesterfield to collect blubber for their lamps, a luxury that is unknown to the other inland dwellers. Auruátiaq drew up the following list of persons, mentioning the names of every one:

LIST OF QAERNERMIUT ACCORDING TO SETTLEMENTS IN THE WINTER OF 1921—22.

At Orpiktujoq: The place of much thicket:

1. kiviaq (?) and his wife aṇa'ṇai (little maternal uncle), their adoptive son tapatain (?) and kubluic'ᓇq (the thumbless), from Back River.

2. kiṇ'aq (mountain) and his wife ʃäl'ᓇq (the lean one), their adoptive son aṣfagaq (the divided one), and aṣfagaq, an old, blind woman.

At Nauhap-Tahia: The lake of the hood-mountain:

1. auruäc'iaq (?) and his wife nanᓇq (polar bear) with their daughter kajᓇq (the red-brown or red fox) and son ihumataq (he who thinks for the others, i. e. chief).

2. tupeq (tent) and his wives ʃakin'aq (mother-in-law) and kubluk (thumb), his daughter unᓇ'rneq (the most manifold); nameless boy.

3. hitorät (the gliding one), moved in from the Harvaqtôrmiut, married to huaraq (the little thing), quperlᓇ'rjuaq (the big intestinal worm) and nujuic'uaq (the very mild one).

At Håningajup-Nunâ: The cross-land, i. e. the land lying across the middle course of Back River:

1. ilä'tna'q (the dear comrade), his wife katläk (?), his other wife paniñajä'tna'q (almost favourite daughter) and sons paniñajäk (almost daughter) and amEq (caribou skin).

2. qaumaihiaq (the slightly shining one) and his wife an'än'aut (the saving one), his other wife hilo (the carcass), their sons Aqajäk (midriff), atäñala'q (the not very coherent one) and tuñuartoq (he who is as juicy as a berry).

At Taherjualugjuaq: The enormous lake, live:

1. an'än'aut (the saving one) and his wife takatuit (?) and adoptive son aniña't (the moon).

2. qahulrät (the comparatively tired one) and wife kikçualik (?).

3. hiliktoq (the broad one) and wife to'dlik (great northern diver), daughter amaujaq (she who has kept in amaut).

4. añuteratäk (a real man) and wife miheraq (grease dipping).

5. qinErän'A'q (he who peers about him) and wife to'nra'q (the spirit), the sons taleroq (seal's front flipper), qAqajöq (he who is sensitive to a coaxing song), kukiak (nail?) and mautarin'A'q (the clever breathing-hole hunter), as well as the daughter higjik (the marmot).

6. näc'ialuk (the would-be fjord seal) and his wife arvErtalik (the whale grounds).

7. ak'iutaq (he who is raised up), his wife nañneq (?) and son ihumataq (the chief).

In environs of Baker Lake:

1. aktorörneq (the touched one), his wife qaqfaöq (red-throated diver) and their son nipifa (nipisa is in Greenland the name of the lumpfish. When I asked him if he knew such a fish, he answered: "Eqaluñnik nipifäñnik tuha'magaluarpuna": "I have heard of a kind of trout that is called nipisa").

At Qorlortoq: The waterfall, Kazan River, SW of Baker Lake:

1. akula'k (the fork of the legs) and his wife qajaic'oq (the kayak-less one) with their daughter aguk (?); their son havikata'q (knife?), his wife ka'dläk (?) and their son hiñic'oq (he who has no boot thong).

2. tuktupeo'q (they say he got a caribou) and wife pamioq (the tail).

3. näcila'q (rather big fjord seal) and wife jö'rait (?), the sons amEq (caribou skin) and upagaq (a caribou driven out of the herd and killed, or: he for whom one stretches out the hand).

4. a'malɔrtoq (the round one), his wife huŋaujaq (glass bead), and their son amarɔq (the wolf).

5. kuan'ät (?), his wife pu'gutaq (meat tray) and the adoptive son kija'rfuk ("the little whom").

6. kaŋE'rguaq (the big promontory), his one wife niviara'arajuk (the silly young girl), his other wife tuluväc'uAQ (the big raven), the sons jikate (?) and tanujaq (?) as well as the daughter talEɔq (fore flipper).

At Taherjualugjuaq: The very big lake:

1. talEɔq (fore flipper), his wife man'ik (egg), the son alɔq (sole of the foot).

2. alikam'Eg (?), his wife aŋna'rtu'se (she who will always have the last word) and the son qugzuk (the swan).

3. miŋEra'la'q (the little grease-dipping), his wife maka'ja'ik (?), the daughter at'uät (?) and son hikate (?).

And finally, a young man ulojuK (woman's knife?).

On May 19th, not far from Kazan River, we passed through the first village of the Harvaqtôirmiut. As soon as we appeared on a lake close to the village the greatest confusion arose among the people among the snow houses. They ran about here and there and appeared to be very excited. When we at last got up to the houses they had all disappeared; women and children had been bundled inside, and outside there were only two men, both sitting on a block of snow, back to back so that only one of them faced us. It was clearly to be seen that we were not assumed to be friendly. We looked so outlandish with our Greenland sledges and dogs that they either took us to be Indians or the feared Kidlinermiut from the arctic coast. We learned later that the fear of the Indians was especially great, as century-old feuds had been waged with equally great cruelty on both sides and were still fresh in mind.

At Baker Lake I had met a man who told me that it was the custom to call out a certain greeting to the inland dwellers if one happened to meet them and wished to show one's peaceful errand. It was a custom that had come right down from the coast dwellers by the Northwest Passage, whence people used to come up to the timber line to fetch wood for sledges, kayaks and tent-poles. This greeting was: "ilɔra'nik tikit'uŋa", and means: "I come from the right side, from the proper side".

I was a little ahead of the sledges, on skis, and hardly had I shouted this greeting before the two men, crying at the top of their voices,

jumped up from their snow-block and ran towards us, and at the same time the other inhabitants of the village came pouring out of the snow houses.

Their village was called Tûgliuvartalik: The lake with the many great northern divers. These people told us at once that they had just managed to survive the winter, and in many places both man and dog had starved to death. Their autumn stores of caribou meat had run out, and there had been a long period when there was nothing at all to hunt. They were still suffering privation, but managed to live from hand to mouth by catching trout. But they were expecting the caribou trek any day now. Two men had been sent to an adjacent village some way further up Kazan River, by the name of Nahiktartorvik: the look-out place, as from there the first caribou herds were usually seen, and, as soon as they got news, the camp would be moved to better hunting grounds.

All this information we secured without difficulty, and great were our feelings of satisfaction at finding that here, too, the language would give us no trouble. The fright our arrival had spread in the village now gave place to a presumptuousness that at times was rather embarrassing. They were so forward and curious that if we merely turned our backs they rummaged our sledges to see what we had with us. Although we were only a few days' journey from Baker Lake trading post, we met women and children here who now saw white men for the first time in their lives.

We made a halt of a few hours and entertained the whole village to tea. At the height of this improvised feast the two sledges which had been sent out to the neighbouring village to get news suddenly came in sight, and even from a long distance we could hear their cry: "atertorju't abqutigeqiga't nahiktartorviñmiut": "The caribou trek from the interior has passed the river at Nahiktartorvik". At once the whole village resounded with shouts of joy. Winter and hunger were over, and now the caribou had come with summer and abundance. One can understand what this means to people who have struggled through a winter in ice-cold snow huts with only food enough to just sustain life.

We at once made ready to continue and secured as guide a nice young fellow named Harpik. Besides him another young man accompanied us, by name Qablútiag. This youth had made himself particularly noticeable by gambling away everything he had, his sledge, his dogs, his rifle and his wife. Peculiarly enough, these people appeared to be passionate gamblers and had apparently been so long before they ever came into contact with white men. It is without doubt a custom that is connected with singing feasts and song contests, which are often wound up by exchanging or gambling away

many of their most valuable possessions. We stopped on the south side of Kazan River at some granite knolls that went by the name of Ihúngaḡ (or "the arctic gull") and there met an emaciated and starving man named Hiliktoḡ (the fat one), a name that was rather striking having regard to his condition when we saw him. He was there with his two wives, whilst his sons were trying their luck with the caribou in the vicinity. After having relieved their immediate hunger we continued our journey and in the evening of the 20th arrived at the village of Nahiktartorvik. Prosperity reigned here, or rather had done so for a day or two, the path of the caribou having lain close by. They told us that large herds of caribou went past every day, and we therefore resolved to make a stay of a few days in order to make some preliminary studies among the first inland dwellers we had met who were not suffering from want. But our goal was still the distant Pádlermiut.

At the village there was an old couple, Aḡigssâḡ (ptarmigan chicken) and his wife Arnarḡik (the re-born woman), who from the very first were very friendly and communicative. On account of the advanced season and the melting snow we could only stay a day or two, but as it was of importance to me to collect information regarding old Eskimo traditions from as many places as possible, I decided that at Nahiktartorvik I would endeavour to obtain some slight idea of what legends were known among this group of the Caribou Eskimos. Arnarḡik, who was about 65 years old, was not unwilling to tell, but as of course not many stories could be written down in the time at my disposal, I made up my mind to restrict myself to merely ascertaining which of the stories among those I already knew from the coast dwellers were known to her and which were not. The only difficulty I had was, curiously enough, the circumstance that from Greenland I knew most of the stories they were willing to tell me, and as soon as I let them see this — in order to save time in the narration — they burst out laughing at the comical idea that this white man knew their stories immediately he arrived in their land. And so Arnarḡik declined to proceed, as she looked upon me as a very great angákoḡ who already was familiar with everything they had thought was their own particular knowledge.

In the childhood of this old couple the Indians often followed the caribou herds about the country and then took advantage of every opportunity to attack unsuspecting Eskimo camps. Arnarḡik had spent her childhood near the aforementioned mountain at Ihúngaḡ, where there is a well-known naḡlōḡ or imariaḡ: a crossing and wading place for caribou. From there they made trading journeys right down to Kúḡjuaḡ (Fort Churchill), which at that time was the nearest trading post. Owing to the difficulty of procuring dog-feed, only two to five dogs were used. It was a walking tour, on which the travellers them-

selves often had to pull the sledges. A start was made in autumn or early winter, and it was rare that a return could be made before spring had arrived. On the occasions when they made these trading journeys the following were carried away by the Indians: Arnarqik's maternal uncle Tarto, his wife Shikíkanâq and their son Manûtuâq. Tarto succeeded in escaping later on, but as he was afterwards unsuccessful in liberating his wife and son, as he had counted upon doing, he starved himself to death in sorrow. The Indians had also abducted Mikínguaq, Arnarqik's sister, and they had since heard through others who had been on trading trips that Mikínguaq had married Manûtuâq and had four sons. The stories in which I had time to examine Arnarqik for the purpose of ascertaining whether she knew them or not were those given below; as an inquiry list I used the Iglulik stories and some Netsilik stories which I had just gone through with Inugpâsugjuk at the coast — of the group referred to in Vol. VII, No. 1.

1) Kivioq — 2) The orphan Kâvjâgzuk — 3) Aningait, the blind, who was illtreated by his grandmother — 4) ta'tuŋ'icôq in connection with the story of the moon and the sun — 5) Akla, who turned into mist — 6) Igimarahukjuk — did not know the story of 7) The old grandmother who turned herself into a man and married her grandchild — 8) did not know the story of the grandmother who frightened her grandchild so that she became a sparrow — 9) The raven that married a loon, (among other tribes a goose) was not known — 10) The owl that proposed to a sparrow was not known — 11) The young girls who married a whale and an eagle — 12) The playing children who disturbed the old man who was hunting at the breathing hole and who revenged himself by letting a rocky cleft close upon them — 13) The human soul that came to life again in all animals (Arnâktartôq) was not known — 14) The giant or the monster who had a live bearded-seal as a scourge, was not known — 15) The two women who were stolen by the inŋerjugiât not known, but Arnarqik had otherwise heard tell of the inŋerjuît who are said to live by the sea where no noise may be made at low tide, otherwise they grow angry with man — 16) Angnaituarjuk, who visits the underworld, was not known, she knows nothing of any underworld — 17) Navaranâq — 18) The giant Inukpahukjuk — 19) Aralulik, who was fought by the Indians, is not known — 20) In former days the houses could move of their own accord if one merely desired them to do so, but they lost this power as there was one who complained that the rushing of the houses through the air hurt his ears so — 21) The time when snow could burn is not known — 22) When men had only the earth for food, they did not know — 23) Tunit, knows nothing about them, not even by name — 24) angatkut, I mentioned some angat-



Old Akjartoq, the oldest woman at *Hikoligjuaq*, boiling fat from caribou bones. In the background is the skeleton of a kayak

koq stories to her, to which she replied: "Among us we have no real angatkut but a few poor ones" — 25) The woman who married a dog — 26) The village that was turned to stone. A man goes to a village for a wife, but is not accepted as a wooer. In vain he weeps because he cannot secure a wife, but as he leaves the village he sings a magic song: "Seeing that they set such great store by themselves, let them all become stone" and everybody in the village turns into stone, the dogs as well. While being turned to stone the man who had refused to give his daughter away sang:

"Come in kayaks
Help
My body stiffens
All my limbs stiffen
My legs stiffen
My hands stiffen
I, I am becoming stone."

27) The old woman who had a polar bear as adoptive child — 28) The old woman who had a larva as adoptive child — 29) Amajorjuk, only known in ajara^{ut}tit — 30) The wolf and the owl, conversing — 31) Er-lavêrjijoq, the intestine eater who lives near the Moon Spirit; has never heard of this — 32) The god of the wind and weather, Nârjuk, or Ahiaq, not known. I asked "Then where do the wind and rain and snow come from?" She answered: "amiahuk": "I do not know" — 33) The glutton spirit Narâjê is not known — 34) Ukumaq is not known — 35) The two sisters who became thunder and lightning; in the old days nobody ever stole, but it once happened that two girls stole a dried skin, a caribou skin from which the hairs had been removed, and a firestone (pyrite). They suddenly became afraid for having committed theft and the younger one said: "Sister, whatever shall we turn ourselves into?" The elder sister: "A wolf?" The younger: "Then people will kill us. Whatever shall we turn ourselves into?" The elder sister: "A caribou?" The younger: "Then people will kill us. Let us become thunder and lightning", and with these words they suddenly became thunder and lightning and shot up into the heavens, where they live invulnerable to man.

Arnarqik was very difficult to collaborate with. She was of a lively disposition and would much rather learn something about us than waste time talking about things that she already knew. As a consequence, this selection makes no claim to be exhaustive. In order to give one or two illustrations of the way she would narrate, I repeat below a few of the stories as she told them. I had to write so quickly in order to keep up with her, however, that it was not possible to preserve the dialect:

Kâvjâgzuk.

There was once an orphan boy, whose name was Kâvjâgzuk. He had an elder brother, and when the latter went out hunting, the women in the house used to stretch split sinew thread across the doorway so that everytime Kâvjâgzuk tried to creep into the house, he ran his nostrils against it until they bled, without being able to get in. This he told to his brother when the latter once came on a visit, and the brother became very angry at it, for he was sorry for his little brother.

In the evening there was a great singing and playing feast, and the brother charmed life into his amulet, which was an ermine. Then he let it go out of the house, letting it burrow its way in through a urinal hole in the snow house. Beforehand he had whispered to the ermine that it was to kill everybody in the house with the exception of two girls. Then the ermine burrowed its way into the feasting house through the urinal hole that was there and bit every one to death, slipping in through their trousers and out through their sleeves. Thus it killed all those who were at the feast with the exception of two young women, and little Kâvjâgzuk was revenged. Later, when he grew up he took the two young women to wife.

I don't know any more, and that is all I know about Kâvjâgzuk.

Kivioq.

It is said that Kivioq had land down by the coast at Ublerajuk (a small island off Corbett Inlet), and once he went to sea from there in a kayak while a storm was raging.

He came to a foreign land and met an old woman and her daughter. He took the daughter to wife and lived in their house. But the old woman grew envious of her daughter and one day killed her when Kivioq was out hunting caribou. She stripped off the skin of her daughter's face and pulled it over her own. When Kivioq came paddling home, she went down to the shore of the lake to take the game he had killed, just as her daughter used to do. It was a big lake, and Kivioq came towing caribou.

"Take your kamiks off and wade out into the lake", cried Kivioq. But when she took off her kamiks he saw that her legs were thin and wrinkled, and when she lifted up a caribou and carried it ashore, she sank to her knees, for she could not manage it; Kivioq's wife never did that. And in that way he discovered that it was the old woman in the skin of his wife's face. Thereafter he thought only of leaving her, and every time he came home from hunting he left behind his mittens, or his kamiks, and told her he had lost them. So the old

woman had to make new ones for him, and in that manner he collected mittens and kamiks together for his flight. But the old woman was suspicious, and when Kivioq noticed this he said:

"pin'a'riblarabkit qimajän'ibkibkit": "I am so fond of you that I will not leave you".

At these words her mind became easy, and he could flee without her becoming suspicious, making his way over the places where he had hidden kamiks and mittens. He went in over the land and came to the ugpatainArzuit, nothing but women's lower bodies, who barred his way and would not let him pass before he had lain with each one of them. This Kivioq had to do, and then he went on his way. Next, he came to a place where the road was blocked by two mountain tops which opened and closed alternately like a mouth. When it opened, he succeeded in slipping through the gap, and he was so near to being swallowed up when it closed that the flap of his frock was snipped off. Kivioq went on and came to a place that was entirely barred with aglunArta^utit (skin thongs that are stretched between tent poles and are used in the qitiktut games for gymnastic exercises). These thongs swung to and fro incessantly, and below them the ground was quite white with human bones, of people who had attempted to clamber over but had perished. But Kivioq took hold of the thong and got over safely. Then he went on and came to a tremendous cooking pot, a large, bubbling, boiling pot that closed the road. Kivioq, however, climbed up on to the edge of the pot and, balancing along the narrow rim, succeeded in getting over. On he went, and came to two enormous aklät: black bears, mik'a¹tut, fighting, tearing at each other with their teeth, and they were so big that they blocked up the whole road. But Kivioq slipped between their jaws and got past them safely. Again he went on and came to ta'rpaña, a dwarf woman, who was cooking food in her house. Kivioq collected his spittle and let it fall down on her through a hole in the roof.

"ho'muna ta'rpaña", said the woman; she spoke a strange tongue, and this was to mean: "What is that standing in my light. Is it here the shadow comes from?", and cut off one of her cheeks and put it in her cooking pot.

Again Kivioq collected his spittle and let it fall down to her. "ho'muna ta'rpaña!" she said, and cut off her other cheek and put it in the cooking pot. Once again Kivioq collected his spittle and let it fall down to her. "ho'muna ta'rpaña", she said, and cut her nose off and put it into the cooking pot.

Again Kivioq collected his spittle and let it fall down on her, but this time she picked up her ulo and ran out of the doorway and, on

now seeing Kivioq, ran the knife over some large stones and cut them through as if they had been meat.

"I would flense you just like that, if only I could reach you", she cried. But Kivioq took his akligAq, his bladder dart, raised it and pointed it towards her, saying:

"I would harpoon you just like that", and as he did this, the bladder on his bladder dart burst, and the woman fell down dead, killed by the crack.

Then Kivioq travelled on and came to a house where there lived a woman who had a tail of iron. Kivioq remained there the night, but when going to sleep he laid a flat stone in on his breast. In the night, when the woman thought that Kivioq slept, she suddenly raised herself and let herself fall down on Kivioq to pierce him with her iron tail, but as she struck the stone the tail broke and she fell down dead.

Then Kivioq continued on his journey and came to a place where the sea was quite blocked by a great mussel, which opened and closed. He hastened to paddle through as the mussel opened, and so close was he to being nipped in two that the mussel struck the after end of his kayak and took away a piece of the stern.

"u^wilugiup tiquna'ŋa'tit ege-qe-qablörpöq": "The giant mussel nearly had you there, no-no, shining white", the mussel said, and sank to the bottom of the sea.

Kivioq paddled on and came to his old country, and when he recognised it he began to sing, and let his voice sound over the land:

"a^wiu^walernerpöq quiahuklune ilik'arilernermigamiuk", he started singing with joy on recognising his land.

But all the time Kivioq had been away, his old father and mother had sat on a rock and looked out for him, and they had sat on the rock so long that two hollows had formed in the hard stone, and these can be seen to this very day *). They heard Kivioq's song and said:

"This is as if we heard Kivioq singing".

And when they caught sight of him just then, they became so delighted that the joy overwhelmed them, and they fell backwards and expired, both of them.

After the death of his father and mother Kivioq no longer cared to remain in his land, and therefore he journeyed back to the lands he had seen. Where there are, we do not know, but we have heard that Kivioq is living yet.

*) At Aerartog, not far from Marble Island, one can still see two stones side by side. They are the stones on which Kivioq's parents sat. Both stones have a depression that was worn in them, so often had Kivioq's old parents sat on them while waiting for their son.

Igimarahugjuk.

Igimarahugjuk ate human flesh. It is said that there were no caribou in the country and no salmon in the lakes where he lived. The caribou go on trek and the salmon swim away through the streams. Therefore the land is sometimes bare of anything eatable for human beings. And then they must starve, and many die of hunger. There you see Itulukánâq, the young wife of Marnilínâq; some years ago she lived not very far from her father and mother and an elder and a younger brother, and there came a winter when there were no caribou in their land and no salmon in the lakes, and they were compelled to starve. Their father and mother died of hunger and many other people near them also died, but Itulukánâq and her two brothers went to Orpiktujoq, where the trader lives, and preserved their lives. For many days did they walk, for they had no strength and had to walk slowly, and it was cold, and they had to build many snow houses on the way. And one who does not eat must be very cold, both by day when the snow is drifting, and by night when he must sleep. But they went, dragging a sledge behind them, on which lay their little brother, and they came to the trader at Qamanerjuaq and were saved. But all those who remained at the village died of starvation, for there were no caribou in the land and no salmon in the rivers.

Thus people often have to go hungry; we must all go hungry; such is our life here; but the old people say that Igimarahugjuk would not go hungry and so he ate his children. His wife, however, ate lice and in that way kept herself alive. And the man sent her out into the country to gather moss and twigs, and Igimarahugjuk killed his children and boiled their flesh. Then Arnahugâq, Igimarahugjuk's wife, fled to the home of her brothers and told them that Igimarahugjuk ate their children because there were no caribou in the land and no salmon in the rivers. After that Arnahugâq stayed with her brothers, and when Igimarahugjuk came for her, they hid her, and he came full of grief and said that his wife and all their children had died of hunger. His brothers-in-law listened to his lamentations and consoled him, saying that they would hold a song feast when evening came. And in the evening they stretched thongs in the snow hut and amused themselves with all kinds of tricks, and they sang songs and were glad, and soon Igimarahugjuk was the one who was most noisy. Then his brothers-in-law sang a versed lampoon:

"Igimarahugjuk eats men's flesh!
Igimarahugjuk eats his children!"

"Arnahugâq has told you that!" cried Igimarahugjuk.

As was customary during their games, the brothers had tied Igi-

marahugjuk's arms fast to a piece of wood. This wood, with which they had fastened his arms, he broke in his rage and stabbed himself with it in the stomach, and the brothers sprang in and killed him. But afterwards no one would believe that Arnahugâq had only eaten lice, and they killed her and cut open her stomach and saw that it was full of lice. But all the lice came alive again when the men cut the stomach open and became kiktorigjât: mosquitos, which flew out over the land. And from them, it is said, all gnats come. —

As Arnarqik had mentioned the bladder dart, I asked her husband about several of the implements that are otherwise only known to the coast dwellers. The information I obtained was as follows:

As a toy he knew the nubvit, bird dart, but without the three barbs about the middle of the shaft.

akligaq with throwing board, but without bladder, had in former days been used for birds and animals; they were very thin and long, elastic and pliable. A special kind of harpoon was also used for spearing salmon, especially the hulukpauwât which usually follows the banks of the river.

In the winter that had just closed the Harvaqtôrmîut had been distributed over the following villages:

LIST OF HARVAQTORMIUT ACCORDING TO SETTLEMENTS IN THE WINTER OF 1921—22.

At Uvitlujuerfik on Qeqertalugjuaq by lower Kazan River:

1) hiliktôq, the fat one, his wife, 2) Arnaluaq, the little woman, his other wife, 3) aḡa'rajuk (?), 4) aqiz'a'q, daughter of 3, 5) taziaq, son of 2, married to 6) miteq, eider duck, 7) niôrtô'q, the long-legged one, son of 2, married to 8) uvajuk (?), 9) hiliktôq, the fat one, their daughter, and finally, 10) ta'rquaq, the dark one, their son, 11) qagpik, wolverine (daughter), 12) qahâtluag (?), son of 2, married to 13) zän'uḡaq, one who walks with a sving, 14) tatän'eq, the swelled one (boy), 15) kijöruna (?), 16) marnilik, the pus-filled one (boy), 17) panikumiag, dear little daughter (girl).

At Tûgliuvartalik, a small lake near to above village but on the opposite bank:

18) ajagiaq, something that must be pushed forward, married to 19) tika^uja'q, something like an index finger, 20) harpik, whale tail, 21) mikiñ'uaq, the little one (daughter), 22) amarörtuaq, the big wolf (adoptive daughter), 23) kiata'q, sirloin, and his wife 24) a^uliñ'uaq, the little one with blood, 25) auḡi^wäk, butterfly larva (their son), 26) harpik, whale tail (young man), 27) kiñ'än'a'q, a mountain one is especially fond of (young unmarried man), 28) qarluarze, the singing one (young unmarried man).



Two little *Harvaqtormiut* girls, dressed in rags because their taboo debars them from getting new clothes in spring or summer. One of them is wearing her hair in *tu'dlit*: wooden sticks round which the hair is wound and bound with strips of caribou skin. *tu'dlit* are worn partly for ornament, partly to keep the hair in order.

At Itimneq:

29) tikta'la'q, the almost blown away one, his wife 30) z'agpāk, the scattered one, 31) tigjāk, the he animal (adoptive daughter), 32) aleq, harpoon line, 31's other wife with son 33) aptaneq (?), and daughter 34) alōq, ball of the foot, 35) uliut, part of back above rump, son of 31, married to 36) ua'a', 37) qarhaṓq, red-throated loon (son), 38) qavaṇa (? son), 39) tōrlāt'a'q (daughter), 40) qavaṇān (?), his wife, 41) aviliajuk, concubine, 42) hikjigaq, marmot (son), 43) ikjiktā'riḷuk, he who skips (son).

At Nahiktartorvik:

44) aqix'a'q, ptarmigan chicken, his wife 45) arnarqik, the real woman, 46) marnilin'a'q, the dear pus-filled one, his wife 47) iktulukān'a'q, the droll old man in the house (?) 48) qabluciaq, with neat eyebrows (young man) 49) pätlāk (?) (young girl), 50) pukerluk, she with the wretched pieces of belly-skin of caribou*), his wife, 51) arnasugaq, the good woman, his other wife, 52) tikeq, index-finger, 53) migpigaq (?) (son), 54) arnarqik, the real woman (daughter), 55) atagān'a'q, one who hangs on well, 56) iktulukān'a'q, the droll householder (son), 57) ko'ṇ'uaq, the little brook (daughter), 58) uliut, part of back above rump (adoptive son), 59) kijorut (?), and wife 60) kilo, the carcass, 61) marnilik, the pus-filled one (young man).

At Arnarquaghānguit:

62) niklaq, the cold one, and wife, 63) tarto, the ant, 64) etquna'q (?) (daughter), 65) nutararta'q, the young child, and wife, 66) nipilitaṓq, he who also has a good voice, 67) arnahuga'q, the good woman (boy).

At Iglorjualik or Akilineq:

68) itiut, one's own anus, and wife 69) a'rut (?), 70) a'nāṇuniAq, one who would like to be a grandmother (son), 71) qaḡimāt, he who is above (son), 72) tataneq (?) (son), 73) ilinuja'q, what has been scorched in a cooking-pot (daughter), 74) arnāt'un'a'q, one who is reborn in another body (daughter).

Careless mind and great capacity for resignation.

I have repeatedly had occasion to show to what a great extent the careless mind of the Eskimos is at once their weakness and their strength. For instance, it impressed me to see the people both at Tūgliuvartalik Lake and at Ihūngaḡ on short rations, in fact some of them actually suffering privation, although they knew that large and small herds of caribou were every day passing a neighbouring village only a day's journey away. They were calmly waiting until the

*) pukeq — belly skin of caribou.

caribou directed their steps to their own village, careless of whether they had to put up with some hardship or not for a day or two longer. Probably it is this kind of care-free argumentation that often leads to a camp, where food is scarce, being broken so late that the Eskimos no longer have the strength to get to better hunting grounds. If this carelessness can sometimes in another fashion become strength, it lies in the bright and easy humour that is retained under almost all the conditions of life. I had an excellent opportunity of confirming this latter at Nahiktartorvik, and as the observations made are so characteristic of the Eskimo mind, I will briefly recapitulate them here.

On May 26th we were surprised by a violent storm which came down upon us with thunder and lightning. The rain poured down, and the gale rose to such violence in the course of about two hours that we had to pull our tent down in order that it might not be swept away together with our equipment.

The camp was in a state of complete confusion: morass, melted mud, whipped up by the rain, a mire of soft, bottomless snow and uncountable little streams that shot up out of the ground and ran away in all directions. Our seal-skin footwear flapped and squelched about our feet every time we had to crawl out to arrange the tent and put more stones on the canvas; and yet we were tolerably well off in comparison with our Eskimo neighbours in the village, who were still living in snow houses; their roofs were only covered with raw and newly-flayed caribou skin; the walls consisted of melted snow, a yellowish mass that looked like brown sugar, and as the rain constantly tore holes in them, they tried to plug the worst places with old footwear, trousers and frocks.

Amid this storm we heard the cries of people arriving, and to our astonishment we discovered two sledges driving at full speed into the village. It was Hiliktoq, who at last had abandoned his hunger camp at Ihúngaḡ and now finally joined us, as thin as a lath from under-feeding. He came with his two wives and his sons, and whilst the man laboriously tried to tie the dogs to some stones, the women started to pitch a tent of deer skins sewn together. They were prudent enough to raise it to only half its proper height, and in the course of a surprisingly short time they really succeeded in making camp and getting their sleeping rugs safely inside. Later in the evening I went out to see how my neighbours were getting on, as I thought they would certainly need help. First I went to Hiliktoḡ and his family, for I knew that none of them had a dry thread on their bodies when they arrived. I was curious to see how they took the storm and therefore went round behind the tent and peeped in through the many holes. When I got right up to it I was astonished to hear singing in-

side, and gay choruses into the bargain. I now saw Hiliktoq sitting right at the back of the tent with a wife on each side and the children round about them. On the floor lay two shoulders of venison, raw but inviting — gifts from the village; and now, when hunger no longer gnawed, the desire for song had immediately welled up in them. The younger of the wives was singing; she looked wild and beautiful, with her long hair soaked with rain water. I hid in the shelter of a large stone and managed to get hold of a part of the song:

Aja — aja — aja!
 I always used
 To accompany the archers,
 Men who shot with arrows,
 And I strode in over the great plains
 With my quiver
 And my bow over my shoulder,
 Aja — aja — aja!

Aja — aja — aja!
 I always used
 To accompany the fast runners,
 Those who left others behind.
 And I hunted in over the great plains
 With my quiver
 And my bow over my shoulder,
 Aja — aja — aja!

Each part of the song was sung with great gusto, and it was easy to see that these people needed no help; to them the storm did not exist. I later learned that they had got to know the song from the Kidlinermiut.

Then I went to one of the most damaged snow houses, where my old story-teller lived. I could only get in by wading through a large lake that became deeper and deeper all the time, and so had to be content to look in through a hole in the wall. But I could hardly believe my own eyes when I saw them all, old and young, eagerly absorbed in gambling with small, fine playing cards that had been imported from Winnipeg. Laughter and merry cries alternated with the claps of thunder, and I understood that none of these people, who were born to this weather, could take a little discomfort seriously.

Sense of locality and map drawings.

I have drawn attention to how extremely difficult it was to find our way on the Barren Grounds. The one part resembled the other, and as soon as we got a little way from the main channel of Kazan

River, we ran as a rule into a net of small watercourses which wound their way between large and small lakes and made it difficult to keep the set course. The very gneiss hills resembled each other, and only when one had very definite land marks and bearings to go upon, could the one be distinguished from the other. The Caribou Eskimos, however, had such marks in abundance, and they had also to a great extent given the land names, as a rule characteristic and informative names, the result being that to one who was familiar with these names it was not so difficult to find the way. During our sojourn at Nahiktartorvik we were made thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the district, especially by two men, Pukerluk and Kijorut, and so instructive were the particulars imparted to us that in reality without much difficulty we found our way to the village at Hikoligjuaq where, we had been informed, the Pädlermiut had a camp. Pukerluk especially, who was a kind of chief over the Harvaqtôrmiut, was a man who had moved about everywhere within the region where the Caribou Eskimos hunt, fish, trade, and fetch wood from the timber line. In using the expression chief I do not mean it to be taken in the literal sense, but merely as an expression of the common Eskimo view that a skilful man with will-power and authority unconsciously subordinates his neighbours under him, so that he makes dispositions when important decisions are to be taken.

These two men drew a large number of maps for me, and, despite the fact that they were quite unaccustomed to the use of pencil and paper, it was astonishing to see their ability to reproduce the peculiarities of the landscape in a few strokes. Of course it is true of these maps, as of all maps made by freehand drawing, that the proportions were on no means correct, but they gave such a perfectly valid idea of the district by showing lakes, mountains, watercourses and especially the course of the principal river, that all the Eskimo names could be put in, and as these names always in one way or another give an indication of the character of the landscape, it was possible for us, by means of these maps, to find our way about independently. In order to have an opportunity of recording some of these names from the Barren Grounds a few of these map sketches will be reproduced later *). It will then be observed with interest that a large number of the names that appear again among these Inland Eskimos occur both in Greenland and along the arctic coast of Canada, indeed wherever Eskimos have their habitat.

One of the most interesting maps that Pukerluk drew for me was

*) A large number of place names associated with various maps drawn by both Iglulingmiut and Pädlermiut will be found in No. 3 of this volume in connection with Eskimo texts comprising: the special shaman words, list of words and the words of selected songs.

of the area round Schultz Lake, Aberdeen Lake and Thelon River, where, for instance, the famous Akilineq is situated — once one of the most renowned marketing places for all Coast Eskimos, for the arctic coast, Hudson Bay, and even the Caribou Eskimos at the time when the borders of civilization went to Fort Churchill, and the Hudson's Bay Company had not yet established its other trading posts.

Akilineq is not a river, as has been supposed, but a ridge, which has received its name: "The land on the other side" because the Eskimos used to have their camps down by the river on the opposite side to the bank where the Akilineq hills lay. The river has no especial Eskimo name. Pukerluk has often had land at Akilineq, but he usually arranged matters so that he spent the spring at Itqitlit nunait, higher up the river, a place by Thelon River. The summer he spent lower down, some distance below the big lake or broads, Tivjalik near Morjúnerjuaq. Winter itself, however, was spent by Kazan River, somewhere or other in the vicinity of his present habitation. The reason for this was, naturally, that as a rule the caribou spend the whole of the winter in small flocks round about the lower course of Kazan River, but most frequently disappear entirely from the regions just mentioned. It is true that these small flocks were extremely shy and could not be hunted on the creaking snow in good weather, but only in a snow-storm, when it was sometimes possible to stalk quite close up to them. That it was unusually hard hunting, especially in the days when they only had bow and arrow and no rifles, speaks for itself. In connection with these hunts Pukerluk stated that only rarely was Hila in a favourable mood towards the people who inhabited these regions. Hila was a merciless and terrible power; in winter it was everlastingly perjôq: blizzard and gale, in summer nipaluk: rain. But Pinga made it possible for people to live: the further one came up towards the big lakes and Akilineq, the more abundant were bird life and the herds of caribou. Up at Tivjalik one fetched wood for sledges, kayaks and tent poles. The trees were torn up by the root by the spring floods further up the river and were taken by the stream right from the regions where the trees of the forest were large and thick, down to the banks of Tivjalik, where there were merely a few isolated, small trees that were not suitable for timber. The only place where one could get green wood was at Napârtumiat, further up the river. But for various reasons they did not care much about felling trees themselves, quite apart from the natural reason that in the old flint days a live tree could only be cut down with the very greatest difficulty. The timber that Hila thus procured for people by the help of gales, which tore them up by the root or by the help of the waters of the river which, when all the

snow had melted away, overflowed its banks, was much better than that which people could themselves fell. In addition, when it was thrown up on to the bank and the river withdrew to its natural bed, the timber could dry in the sun and was ready for immediate use. Pukerluk showed me a sledge, of the normal type for the Caribou Eskimos, who fetched wood from Akilineq. Its overall length was seven metres; the portion with the cross-slats measured four metres and the nose itself, the nose of the runners, was three metres. The length of the cross-slats was $\frac{3}{4}$ metre, the ends projecting a good way outside the runners on both sides, so that the breadth of the sledge itself was no more than a good half metre. In former days, when such a sledge was to be cut out of a tree trunk, it had to be laboriously hewn out with pieces of iron which had been bartered from the Coast Eskimos, who traded with Churchill. A small piece of iron was placed on the end of a long wooden shaft; a knife like this — also used for other work too — was called a *qin'uzA'q* and the method of cutting the wood out by means of this knife was called by the expression *qin'uzA'rupa'*: have work with a *qin'uzA'q*. Of course it took many, many days to get a sledge cut out of a tree trunk in this manner, as one continuously had to make the groove one cut in the tree deeper and deeper, until the piece of wood required was separated from the stem in the size desired. Nowadays people used saws from the white men, and cutting wood out of the stems by means of even the dullest saw was child's play to those who had been accustomed to the use of the *qin'uzA'q*.

In former days Akilineq was the place of assembly of all Eskimos from the interior and from the coast areas at Hudson Bay, Kûgjuaq (Churchill), Igluligârjuk (Chesterfield), Kidlinermiut (the arctic coast and Victoria Land) and Netsilingmiut. The folks who came with trade goods, which in particular consisted of nails and pieces of iron, and now and then a rare valuable such as a real knife, were those who had traded at Kûgjuaq. The prices of these commodities were thongs of the bearded seal, and footwear like that used by the coast dwellers, as well as dogs and the like; but the Kidlinermiut were not reliable people; they changed their minds quickly, they were not to be trusted, and not uncommonly things therefore developed into a bloody collision, when the trading was broken off by war between the different tribes. These coast dwellers of course also came up for timber, and even by the river where they stayed there were some trees that reached a height of seven to eight metres; but as already stated, they always preferred *tivjât*: that which has drifted ashore, i. e. the tree trunks washed up on land by the river. This was not merely because the trunks were bigger and of better quality because they were dry right

through, but also because no Eskimo, according to Pukerluk, likes to go into a forest. A forest is called *napa'rtut*: those that stand upright. *napa'rtut*, or the forests, were looked upon as living beings, but were merely unable to speak. They can be heard whispering in the night, when the wind sweeps through the branches; often one hears whining noises, often strange whistling. All the peculiar mysterious sounds one hears when one goes into a forest are the cause of their being regarded as living beings, which merely have a tongue or language that is different from that of man. Therefore no Eskimo must spend the night in a forest; but if he is forced to do so by some circumstance or other, his sojourn in a forest may last up to ten nights; the forests will not tolerate man longer than that.

II.

Continued journey to the Pâdlermiut at Hikoligjuaq.

The storms of the last few days had made great inroads in the snow and in some places the river-ice was under water, and therefore it was necessary to make use of the good going while there was still time. In order to get as much as possible out of my stay among the Harvaqtôrmiut, and especially to get accustomed to the dialect, I had stayed at Nahiktartorvik some days longer than my companions, who had gone on with a part of our baggage a day's journey ahead to a place that was called qahulqäktä't (Greenlandic: Qasuvdlagtaissut): a place where the wind quietens down now and then. At that time we had only one tent, and as it was necessary for me to have a place where I could write, I had been egoistic enough to keep that tent, whilst my companions had had to be content with a hastily erected qarmaq: Shelter, built up of stones, pointed with turf and with an interimistic roof of skins, a hunting shelter such as is used by Eskimos everywhere.

It was now most necessary that I should find out how they had managed under such primitive conditions during the bad weather, and I therefore broke camp together with Qâvigarssuaq after having taken cordial leave of the village, especially Pukerluk. His parting words were said in a curious form, but he said them because he knew that he was pleasing me by doing so:

"Your tongue is not so frozen as when you came". This referred to the fact that the Caribou Eskimos thought our Greenlandic dialect was so hard that we spoke as if our tongues were frozen stiff in our mouths. (Peculiarly enough, when we arrived they had used the expression kutät'ut about our dialect, which in Greenlandic means: those who cannot speak clearly, and is especially used about children who have not yet learned to pronounce all the sounds).

I was pleased with this testimonial, for I had taken a lot of trouble

to acquire the new dialect, and as a matter of fact the result of these efforts was to be of especial benefit to me during my stay among the Pâdlermiut.

Thunder and rain had been succeeded by snow storm, and in furious weather we caught up with our companions, who had really had to go through a great deal during the storm, but otherwise had taken it all with their usual good humour.

The whole country was now flooded with small flocks of caribou numbering from 25 to 60, up to 100, and as our dogs were accustomed to bear hunting at the coast, it was very difficult to guide them through all this live game; they were in fact in a constant state of excitement, as we only shot what we had use for in the evening, or rather in the morning, when about to pitch camp.

We worked our way forward by means of the map Pukerluk had drawn for us, and, finding without difficulty both ridges and the special crossing over the river that he had advised us to make for, now that the ice was being undermined by the running water, we arrived at the village without any delays whatever as early as June 31st. We had not travelled very far that day when, at a turn of the river, we caught sight of a sledge with three men. We halted at once and waved to them, but hardly had they seen that we were strangers when they whipped up their dogs and disappeared behind the nearest hill top in wild flight. To pursue them might easily lead to misunderstanding and hostility, and therefore we continued calmly on our way in the hope of reaching the village during the course of the day. We had now left the river and had reached a lake so large that it could only be Hikoligjuaq. We stopped at a large, open water hole that had been broken near the shore of the lake by the current of the river, and started to examine the terrain about us, when on the top of a rise we saw a man watching us with the keenest attention. We waved to him, and as he answered by raising both arms above his head as a sign that he was unarmed and of friendly intentions, we drove on and shortly afterwards came to his dwelling. We had at last reached our goal; we were among the Pâdlermiut.

It was a small camp, at this time one of three tents, and the man we had met — in contrast to his countrymen in these regions — came towards us in fearless readiness to help. I told him whom we were and what we had come for, and he replied at once by informing us that his name was Igjugârjuk (the little testicle). The circumstance that he spoke his own name was to us a proof that we were among tribes that were quite different from those we were otherwise used to having intercourse with. A coast dweller does not tell his name himself; he must not say what his name is, but as a rule summons

someone who can name it, when it is desired to know what he is called.

We told Igjugârjuk about the young men who had fled before us, and he laughed heartily and explained that they had taken us for Indians. Before the various H. B. C. posts were opened inside the timber line, it was very common for the Indians to come right down to Hikoligjuaq on their spring hunting trips, and there had always been deadly enmity between them and the Pâdlermiut.

Within the Caribou Eskimo group everybody knows everybody else, and long before I arrived at Hikoligjuaq I had naturally learned a good deal about Igjugârjuk, who in many ways was an unusual man and, like Pukerluk, of a chieftain nature, enjoying great esteem among all his kinsmen. He was just the man with whom I had been advised at Nahiktartorvik to live and look to on the whole and seek assistance and information in my work. Now that he came towards me, pleased and smiling, I was therefore unable to think of anything else than the manner in which he had secured his first wife. Compared with the usual Eskimo form of wooing, it was, to put it most mildly, drastic. This episode in his life had been part of the last information imparted to me by Pukerluk before I journeyed out to find him.

As a young man Igjugârjuk had been in love with a woman named Kibgarjuk, but her family were opposed to the match. When he heard later that they thought of giving her to another man, he turned up unexpectedly one day, with his elder brother Harpik, at the entrance to the snow house where Kibgarjuk lived, and from there shot down her father, mother, two brothers with their respective wives and finally, when Kibgarjuk had become alone, sprang in, carried her off and married her. I was therefore astonished that a man with such an experience behind him could, immediately we had arrived, prove his close relationship with the Canadian Mounted Police by handing me a document bearing the seal of the Canadian government, issued at his village during the hunting of a murderer in April 1921, and reading as follows:

Lake She-ko-lig-you-ak,
North West Territories,
April 8th, 1921.

Appointment as Special Constable:

To whom it may concern:

This is to certify that the bearer, one Ed-jo-â-juk Padlermiut Escimo, of Lake She-ko-lig-you-ak, North West Territories, Canada, has this day been appointed by me, the undersigned Albert E. Reames,



Atqâralâq, Igjugarjuk's wife. She is wearing beaded hairpins and a shawl Indian-fashion over her shoulders above her inner coat. Her fingers are bejewelled with rings, which are usually beaten out of copper coins.

one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in and for the North West Territories, for the purposes of apprehending and bringing to justice, one Ouangwak Padlermiut Escimo, wanted on two charges of murder, and for whose arrest warrants have been duly issued. The said Ed-jo-â-juk to have all the privileges, rights and appertenances duly connected with the said office of Special Constable in the Territories.

Given under my hand and seal this eighth day of April A. D. 1921 at Lake She-ko-lig-you-ak, in the North West Territories aforesaid.

(signed) Albert E. Reames

a Justice of the Peace in our far North
West Territories.

With the requisite air of gravity I read through the letter, and as he apparently attached much importance to the printed word, which he did not understand, I was not going to be behindhand and therefore, in return, handed him an old newspaper that I had in my bag. He took it and examined it with the same attentiveness as I had paid his document, and from that moment we were in his eyes equals.

Igjugârjuk, however, was no humbug, and when I think of all the people I have met on the long stretch between Greenland and Siberia, he occupies an outstanding place among all prominent Eskimos. He was wise, independent, intelligent and exercised great authority over his fellow-villagers. He invited us at once into one of his tents and, as the mighty man he was, he naturally had two wives and two tents. The eldest of the wives, Kibgarjuk (the little gnawed-off bone) — she it was who had given rise to the aforementioned massacre — had now been superseded by a younger beauty by name Atqâralâq (the little one who descends to one), and naturally her tent, which was large and elegant in contrast to that of her rival, was the one into which we were now shown.

The privation we had expected to find had long been relieved by prosperity. In front of the little camp lay a heap of unflensed caribou, so many that it was difficult to count them. One understands what a feast it is to these Eskimos when the migration of the caribou begins, for when I expressed my pleasure at all the splendid meat that lay piled up, I was told that only a month before they had all been on the verge of starvation. In spite of endless hunting there had been no game to find, and all the caches from previous hunts had been emptied. Then one of Igjugârjuk's wives, Kibgarjuk, together with a small adoptive son, had left the camp and started out in the snow storm, dragging a little sledge behind them. Her sole equipment was some implements for fishing for salmon. It was still hard winter then and the wind blew almost incessantly, and Kibgarjuk was lost

in the blizzard, apparently the certain prey of the pitiless Hila. Her objective was a small lake several days' journey away, where she intended to try to catch salmon trout. This was the very last resort she could think of. They had tried everywhere in the vicinity of Kazan River and all the surrounding lakes, without success. It was as if everything eatable had been taken from man. Without provisions and without sleeping skins Kibgarjuk and the little boy had dragged themselves to the lake, resting as little as possible in snow huts which they built for themselves when they could hold out no longer — snow huts which, if they did give them shelter from the wind, were ice-cold because they had nothing to warm them up. At the very point of complete exhaustion they had come to the little lake that she believed would prove their salvation, because she had dreamed that it contained salmon trout. Her dream was fulfilled. The lake actually was full of big, fat trout, and thus it was that Kibgarjuk had saved the whole village; but their faces still bore distinct traces of the sufferings they had gone through during the past two winter months.

Now, however, everything was changed. Igjugârjuk at once gave orders that a luxurious feast was to be prepared for us, and two big caribou carcasses were put over the fire in enormous zinc baths that had been secured at the trading post at Baker Lake. While the meal was being cooked, we fed our dogs, but hardly had we taken the coverings from our sledge loads when our dog-feed, which consisted of walrus meat, gave rise to the utmost perplexity among the people. Walrus meat had never been seen before at Hikoligjuaq and was subject to absolute taboo. Igjugârjuk, however, who on his many journeys had developed a certain subtlety of mind, was content to issue a prohibition against the young men of the place touching the meat and against knives from the camp being employed for cutting it up. We strangers were placed outside the local taboo and were allowed to cut the meat up with our own knives and to feed our dogs. While this was proceeding a young man, Pingorqa was his name, and he had never been down by the coast, came to us and began to make enquiries about the animals of the sea, and when he asked if seals had horns like the caribou, I realised that I was among people who were widely different in their habits from the Eskimos whom I had hitherto known and to whom the hunting of aquatic mammals is a condition of life.

As soon as we had finished feeding the dogs, we unloaded our sledges and moved into a tent which Igjugârjuk with customary munificence placed at our disposal. He added that his wife Kibgarjuk could help us with the cooking and mending of our clothes. But Kibgarjuk, who heard this, at once came to me and said that she would only help us on

condition that her husband ate with us, especially when we ate fine, white man's food; she had already noticed that we had both flour and tea. While assuring her that I regarded this as a matter of course, I could not help being astonished at the really faithful love this woman had for her husband. He had murdered all her family, all her nearest and dearest, it made no difference. Since then he had displaced her and taken a younger wife when she became old; nevertheless, she continued to cherish such affection for him that, with her life as the stake, she could go out on a fishing trip that saved the whole village, but first and foremost her husband, from death by starvation. I discovered later that Kibgarjuk's position towards her husband and his new wife was the same as that of an old servant.

No sooner had we arranged our things than there was a shout that the meat was cooked, and all the men ran up to Igjugârjuk's tent. The women do not eat until the men's meal is over. The two cooked caribou lay in great carved joints over the floor, divided in wooden trays, and as Igjugârjuk had wisely thought that our habits might not be quite the same as theirs, he had placed our rations on a separate dish, which he brought to us. All the others fell upon the meat like ferocious dogs — the object was to get the best pieces — and though I have often been present at barbaric feasts among Eskimos, I have never witnessed such an absence of manners. Only the oldest, those whose teeth were most worn, used knives; the younger ones tore the meat from the bones in quite the same ravenous but greedy way as we imagine our own forefathers have eaten. Besides the two caribou a number of heads had been cooked. Each member of the expedition received one, but we were welcome to eat it in our own tent, thus displaying the understanding that one need not over-eat, but on the other hand is obliged to take one's leavings home. Only this special condition was attached to the gift of meat, that each one of us had to guarantee that the leavings would not be gnawed by women or dogs. The muzzles especially were regarded as being sacred eating, and this must not be violated. As soon as everybody had eaten as much as he could, the desert was brought up. It consisted of fat, raw gadfly larvae which had been picked out of the skins of the newly shot caribou. They wriggled alive on a big meat tray like giant maggots, and when one bit them, they made a little snap and a crack.

This feast was barely over when we caught sight of a whole train of sledges coming to our village from a large island lying out in the middle of Hikoligjuaq. It was a remarkable procession in the eyes of one who is accustomed to seeing the Coast Eskimos come rushing up with their dogs. Here were in all six heavily laden sledges, three and three tied together; each sledge-group was drawn by two dogs, but

together with them the men pulled too; the women walked in front. The only one allowed to sit on the load was a mummy-like old woman who, on account of her knowledge of all kinds of taboo and the rules of life of the old, was said to enjoy great respect among the Pâdlermiut. That she also was Igjugârjuk's mother-in-law did not diminish that respect either.

In Greenland, among the real dog drivers, it is regarded as almost degrading to have such a poor team that one cannot sit on the sledge and let the dogs do all the work. Here, however, all journeys are synonymous with walking and, on the spring journeys, when everything must be taken along when camp is broken in order to move to a new spot where possibly the stay will last the whole of the next year, it is looked upon as a natural thing that one must help to drag the sledges. The small number of dogs is not, however, due to any lack of desire to have good teams, but simply the difficulty of procuring dog-feed.

The visitors who now took up their quarters at our village came from the island of Himelrutaq (Greenlandic: Simiutaq): the cork, a name that is used for islands that block the entrance to a fjord or are an obstacle in the middle of a lake. All the new arrivals looked starved and had barely recovered from the hunger of the spring. Four people had died of starvation, and two — a married couple — had first eaten all their sleeping skins and thereafter had got lost in a snow storm while trying to get away to other villages.

According to the records I had obtained down at Chesterfield from Mgr. Turquetil, who is particularly well acquainted with all Eskimo matters in these regions, there had previously been about 600 people living round about Hikoligjuaq, but through the hunger periods of the last generation these had been so decimated that the census I took only gave about 100 people.

One of the causes of all this privation is, in certain districts, the introduction of firearms. This might sound paradoxical, but the position is this:

In these parts of the Barren Grounds there are enormous numbers of caribou, which follow their old migration paths and cross rivers and lakes at quite certain places. As long as the Eskimos only used bow and arrow, their kayaks and their special kayak lance, the animals were not scared to such an extent as they are now, when the hunters shoot away at the animals opposite the crossing places with long-range magazine rifles. When the caribou have experienced this disturbance for a few years they take other paths, whereas the Eskimos remain at the same villages, and this causes the catastrophe. They think there are no caribou, whereas the truth is that the caribou have



Above: Women out gathering reindeer moss to be used for fuel. — Below: The camp at *Hikoligjuaq*. In the foreground are *Igjugårjuk* and *Atqâralâq* outside their tent.

merely chosen another road. In the period when the migration is proceeding, the Barren Grounds are so difficult of access, so hard to travel over, that it is almost impossible for the Eskimos to go out looking for caribou. Hence the many famine periods, despite the much better and quite modern hunting implements. My census for the Hikoligjuaq villages gave the following result:

LIST OF THE HIKOLIGJUAQ VILLAGES IN THE WINTER
OF 1921—22.

At Qamanerjuaq near Hikoligjuaq:

1) igjug^arjuk, the little testicle, and wife, 2) atq^arala^aq, the dear one who descends to one, and other wife 3) kibkarjuk, the little gnawed-off bone, 4) perqan^aq, the one who always does a thing in such a way that there is always a lack in what is done (son), 5) mör'jun^eq, the place where a river becomes a lake (daughter), 6) uo^ajaq (?) (son), 7) alēqahuaq, elder sister (son), 8) piñərqa, ridge, and wife 9) nutaratuaq, only child, 10) aχja^artəq (?), (old woman), 11) avane', far away, and wife, 12) ke^ana^alik, the mask, 13) utahania (?), and wife, 14) hu^wakzuk (?), 15) piklerneq, one who has slipped out of something (son), 16) to^anra^ujaq, the little helping spirit (daughter), 17) arnaruzuk, the big woman (daughter), 18) uli^af^aq, the one with the wrong side out, and wife, 19) aktän^auaq, the little discarded one, 20) əruluk, one who always gives trouble (son), 21) aṇutikuluk, the dear little man (son), 22) qatuk, collar-bone (daughter).

At Aukhivēt, also near Hikoligjuaq, but west of above:

23) alikan^eq (?), and wife, 24) quhun^aq (?), 25) amarun^aq, favourite wolf (son), 26) kunaⁱtu^aq (?), 27) equaq, dirt in the anus (boy), 28) qahaⁱluaq (?), old woman, 29) anigjaq (?), son.

In the vicinity of Najaligjuaq:

30) uniṇuja^aq, one who stops often, and wife, 31) paniṇuniän^aq, the dear, who would like to be a daughter, 32) aṇaviluk, the moderate maternal uncle (daughter), 33) hequaq (?), (daughter), 34) aktarta^alik, the one with appendage (daughter), 35) uṇaha^una, the loving one (son), 36) eqo^ameq, one who closes the anus a little when evacuating, and wife, 37) niviän^aq, the dear little virgin, 38) ikut^aaq, the chopped-off one (son), 39) uṇaha^una, the loving one (son), 40) aṇuaq (?) (son), 41) ərħəriäk, quartzite, and wife, 42) kiṇuhiuṇ^aq, one who usually is behind, 43) utäk (?), other wife, 44) kamaluk, the eager one (daughter), 45) qatuk, collar-bone (daughter), 46) arnalugjuaq, the big woman (daughter), 47) u^wiṇaja^aq, the lenient one (son), 48) ihitqut (?), young man, 49) nägjuk, the antler, and wife, 50) paṇniut, the bull-caribou one owns, 51) akha^uja^at, the wrist, and

wife, 52) *uneq*, armpit, 53) *kataluk*, the lost one (son), 54) *taleq*, arm, (young man), 55) *kam'aluq*, the easily exited one, (old woman), 56) *ataṇaq'juq* (?) (son), 57) *to'nra'u'jaq*, the little helping spirit (son), and wife 58) *uktuvialik*, she with the real sexual organs, 59) *ntṛqala'q*, the ageing one, (young man), 60) *taluke'*, the one with the insufficient hunting shelter, (woman), 61) *hinäziaq* (?), (woman), 62) *qaluq*, the ladled-out one, (old widow), 63) *ṁqäthiaq*, the smooth tongue, and wife, 64) *qulighiata'q*, the happy cooking one, 65) *pṁqutagṁq* (?), (young man), 66) *na'rigjuq*, the well-bellied, and wife, 67) *qa'rlutṁq*, wild duck, 68) *pin'er'juala'q*, the beautiful one (son), 69) *aktatuala'q* (?) (daughter), 70) *pamiun'a'q*, one who is fond of his tail, 71) *a'xja'rtṁq* (?), and wife, 72) *ina'u'jaq*, she with the *mons Veneris*, 73) *ita* (?) (son), 74) *qaqhaṁq*, loon (daughter), 75) *ṁqa'u'jaq*, the one like a tongue, and wife, 76) *pin'er'juala'q*, the beautiful.

At Navluinaq:

77) *utarägjuq* (?) and wife 78) *arna'lugjuq*, the big woman, 79) *kataluk*, that which is lost (daughter), 80) *atquta'naq*, the beaten path (son), 81) *niviarjiuneq*, the former virgin (daughter), 82) *ahug-iaq* (?) and wife 83) *ataga'luk* (?), 84) *a'paluktṁq*, the red one (daughter).

At Môrjunerjuq on the other side of Pädlerjuq:

85) *uhugtṁq*, he with the big penis, and wife 86) *qajaⁱ*, his kayaks, 87) *hequaq* (?) (son), 88) *niaqrjuq*, the big head (son), 89) *kiṇuk*, little shrimp (daughter), 90) *pa'ṛnrṇaq*, the black crowberry, (man), 91) *ileqitama'q* (?), (man), 92) *katalukta'q*, the often-lost one, and wife, 93) *ataluk* (?) and other wife, 94) *aneraja'q*, one who often goes out, 95) *arnarquaq*, old woman (son), 96) *ita* (?) and wife, 97) *arnatuk*, woman, 98) *aṇuliät* (?) (son), 99) *qum'a'q*, one who often makes water, and wife 100) *qatjuk*, one who does not eat, or the one who soon tires of anything, 101—102) two children, names and sex unknown.

At Natluinaq:

103) *na'req*, the man with the good stomach, his wife 104) *qarṭlutṁq*, the one with the thick eyebrows, their daughter 105) *parmiun'a'q*, the one who is fond of his tail, their son, 106) *pin'er'juala'q*, the little beautiful one, and their youngest daughter, 107) *aktatuala'q*, the one who hangs on and is taken along.

III.

Daily life among the Pâdlermiut.

Igjugârjuk treated me with great hospitality and tried in every way to satisfy my curiosity. Naturally, he preferred me to tell him something about all the people who were his kinsmen and whom I had met on my travels in Greenland and on the shores of Hudson Bay. I then purposely always tried to touch upon the very subjects on which I was interested in getting information myself, and therefore told him as much as I could about the old traditions of the Greenlanders and their religious ideas before white men came and settled in their country. But one day when I opened out and explained to him how important it would be for me to learn about the Pâdlermiut's ideas of life after death, I ran my head against a wall. In vain did I point out that, long before I met him personally, I had heard of his fame as a shaman all over the Barren Grounds. His answer was briefly to the effect that he was an ordinary and ignorant man who knew nothing of the past of his people, and he declared firmly that those who said he was a shaman were lying. I therefore realised that I would have to wait with these questions until our intercourse had brought us closer together. I often took walks with him in the neighbourhood, and on these occasions Igjugârjuk with astonishing certainty drew maps of the shores of Hikoligjuaq and told me the names of all the settlements in the district. From a hill close to the camp we could see for long distances, and everywhere we found stone erections, and caribou fences with hiding places for bowmen, and many small cairns, often with a sod on the top, to represent a human head; these were all relics of the days when the caribou was hunted without white men's weapons and was chased down to the crossing places, where the kayak men lay in hiding to attack the herd with their lances as soon as the animals swam out into the lake.

In the following I give some examples of the information he imparted to me about the mode of living of his people:

1) *With bow and arrow:*

For this hunting they build an "avenue" of small stone cairns, almost hip high. On top of these is placed a sod, so that it resembles a human head. At certain intervals hiding places for the hunters are built close up to the cairns, talo, a wreath or rampart of stones, behind which the hunter lies concealed. The avenue formed by the cairns is no wider than 10—12 metres. The commencement of the avenue has a very wide opening, so that when the caribou are driven by the beaters in between the rows of cairns, they have no suspicion that they are coming into a trap. No talo of course is built at the place where the distance between the cairns has this considerable breadth. From there the rows of stones gradually narrow down over a stretch of several miles, until they end in having a breadth of 10—15 metres. It never happens that the caribou try to escape between the cairns. They think that they are men and therefore keep right in the middle of the two rows. In this manner the animals pass the hunter at very close range. This method of hunting caribou is called *pihin'iartut*; the cry with which the leading man at a village calls his fellows to go out hunting with him is: *pihin'iarta*. Women, children and youths then go along as beaters, while the man hides behind his talo.

2) *tuktun'niarta*: literally: let us go after caribou, is said by the hunters when the chase proceeds by means of *a^ularqazigjät*: that by means of which one makes something move; these are sticks which are inserted in the ground on the same system as the cairns referred to above. To these sticks are fastened bird wings or gull skins or pieces of skin, and the caribou mistake them for wolves. Often the sticks are also connected by seal-skin thongs on which bird skins are hung too, and these flutter in the wind. The beaters then drive the caribou in between the *a^ularqazigjät*, which lead them out to a crossing place. Swimming caribou are called *ima'rtut*. If it is a very large flock of caribou that is being hunted, those who hunt it are called *upäktut*: they who throw themselves upon (the game). The men are concealed with their kayaks at the crossing place, and as soon as the whole flock has come out into the river or lake, the kayaks go after them. Caribou swim no more quickly than that a kayak can quickly catch up with them. The animals are then killed with an *ipo*: a caribou lance. When this hunting was pursued at places where the river was deep and where the current consequently was sometimes very strong, the kayak men could display wonderful skill in the manner in which they could manœuvre through the whirlpools, constantly occupied with the animals they were to kill.

3) *qaxzitaq* is the name of a pitfall that is dug in the snow to such a depth that a caribou falling into it cannot get up again. It is



Two little girls from *Baker Lake*. One is wearing the usual inner coat with the skin-hair inside, but trousers with the hair outside. The other is in festival dress covered with embroidery of variegated beads.

covered over with a thin crust of snow, above which are scattered reindeer moss and the frozen urine of dog or wolf. A lucky hunter can get as many as three caribou at once in a pitfall of this kind.

4) Where the snow is not so deep that a proper pitfall can be dug, a narrow path is made in the snow, and along this path moss and urine are scattered; caribou are always likely to follow such a path. This deep, sunken path in the snow ends in a small pitfall, into which the caribou tumbles. It must suit the size of the caribou, i. e. it must not be so big that the caribou can turn round, and this usually has the effect that it cannot get out of it again. Such a pitfall is called an *erχit'āq*.

5) *inukjugāq*:

The caribou have quite a marked taste for urine, as already stated, especially that of dog or wolf. If one builds a snow hummock and places the urine by the side of it, the caribou will always come to look for it, as they can scent it at long distances. Near to the urine close to the hummock a pitfall can be dug, into which the caribou often drop.

Having told me about all the old methods of hunting the caribou, Igjugârjuk proceeded to praise the white man and his brains. It was particularly such a wonderful invention as the gun that occupied his thoughts. In the old days it was only rarely that the people lived in a state of plenty. This happened only when they succeeded in driving a flock of caribou into a lake or river, so that they could be killed by the score. All the other methods of hunting demanded great exertion, great perseverance, and never yielded anything much. Yet as a rule one could manage to live from hand to mouth if one lived at places where trout fishing and bird catching could be practised. Real depots of food could only be made in autumn. On the other hand the old Eskimo way of hunting caribou was a "gentle" one. It did not scare the caribou as the guns do now, and therefore one always knew where caribou could be found. Now the shy animals had become calculating and often avoided the dwelling places of man.

There, where all life is based upon the caribou, it is of importance to understand the habits of these animals thoroughly.

Igjugârjuk said:

The caribou winter down in the great forests behind Kûgjuāq (Churchill). Towards the middle of April a great unrest seizes them, and they come wandering in the direction of Hikoligjuāq and Baker Lake, and from there scatter down towards the coast as soon as the sun begins to get really warm so that the snow melts. Often their

departure is premature, and sometimes it happens that sudden snow storms force them to return and again seek shelter in the forests. These impatient forerunners are rarely many in number, but the next time the animals get on the move, they are more numerous and now trot carefully forward along their old paths. They know they have enemies where they least expect them, and therefore, even when they make a halt to rest and eat, there are always vigilant sentinels.

The advance guard of the great spring migration are the cows with young, whose ranks are closed by "the virgins", all young cows. After them come the young bulls, many of them still being calves. When they have got past the villages on their wanderings, which about Hikoligjuaq means at the end of April and during May, with a few late comers in June, there is a pause of about a month during which there is hardly an animal in the country. Not until well into August do the full-grown bulls come. They trudge along in great flocks, sometimes so many that it seems as if they covered all the ground; they graze their way slowly forward, for they are not anxious to fall in with the cows before mating time arrives. They have not yet quite changed their coat and are white on neck and back. When one sees them, it is as if living snowdrifts laid themselves over the brown earth, the white part of their coat being very prominent.

Now, when there are guns, one can procure so much food in spring and summer that it is easy to live until the great autumn hunts. But in former days, when there were only bow and arrow and kayak, summer was often a sparse period, because it was very difficult to hunt the smaller flocks, which were always incredibly shy. The great hunt takes place in autumn, when the animals are returning to the forests, fat and newly moulted, with shiny, soft hair. Then they came in tremendous herds, all together, the cows with the new calves and the young cows that have had no calves, and then the bulls. These herds were sometimes so immense that they were driven forward as if in a throng down towards the forests. At times they covered the whole landscape, and even if men came close to them, it was almost as if there was no room for them to flee; it was also as if the great number made them trustful, with the result that one could kill them in multitudes. But it was best to take them at the crossing places. The great hunters then built meat caches in which the dried meat could be kept for the winter. And not only the meat, which was cut out in thin slices and dried on the stones by the women, but the rich fat too.

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We allowed the first few days to pass without devoting ourselves to anything in particular, simply occupied in making calls in the

tents and trying to win the confidence of the people and on the whole learning their especial dialect.

They were people who took things easily, and now that whole heaps of unflensed caribou lay out in the snow in front of the tents, there seemed to be no great eagerness to go hunting. In reality, day after day passed without anything useful being done at all; everybody slept long and ate almost continuously all the time one was awake. I have seldom seen people eat so immoderately as these Inland Eskimos. Whole caribou, that were cooked in very large pieces, disappeared completely in surprisingly short time. Here, where there was meat enough, it did not matter if there was extravagance with the food; but on the whole I later on had an opportunity of observing that economy was no outstanding quality in these Eskimos. At some other villages which I visited to the southeast of the lake, they had not a great deal of food, but as often as one or two caribou were shot the people fed continuously as long as there was any meat left, to half starve in quite good humour the next few days if the hunts were not profitable.

We had pitched our own tent and lived here, doing our own house-keeping. Among the Coast Eskimos we had always preferred to live among the people we came to. We became more intimate with them and more quickly won their confidence when we were accepted as members of the family. But here we felt that our neighbours as a whole lived in so uncleanly a fashion that it would be difficult to settle down among them.

I have already described the first meal with which we were received, and that even then it was difficult for us to eat everything that was offered us, although through years among the Eskimos we were otherwise accustomed to a little of everything. The very manner in which the food was prepared here was so unappetizing that we preferred our own cooking pots, of course as far as this could be done without giving offence. An everyday and well-liked dish was a strong bouillon boiled in a giant pot out of all the gnawed bones that could be collected in the tents after the meals of the day. The bones, after being smashed with stones, were mixed with a little water and boiled together with caribou hooves; as a rule there were considerable quantities of old excrement between the toes, and this merely gave the soup colour but without exactly imparting to it a taste that we thought pleasant. It took a whole night to boil the strength out of these bones, this work being left to the children while the grown-ups slept. For there, as everywhere else in the world, the children had that peculiarity that they never wanted to go to bed at night, and their parents had therefore artfully entrusted the cooking to them, which by the

way amused them so much that one could seldom get much peace at night.

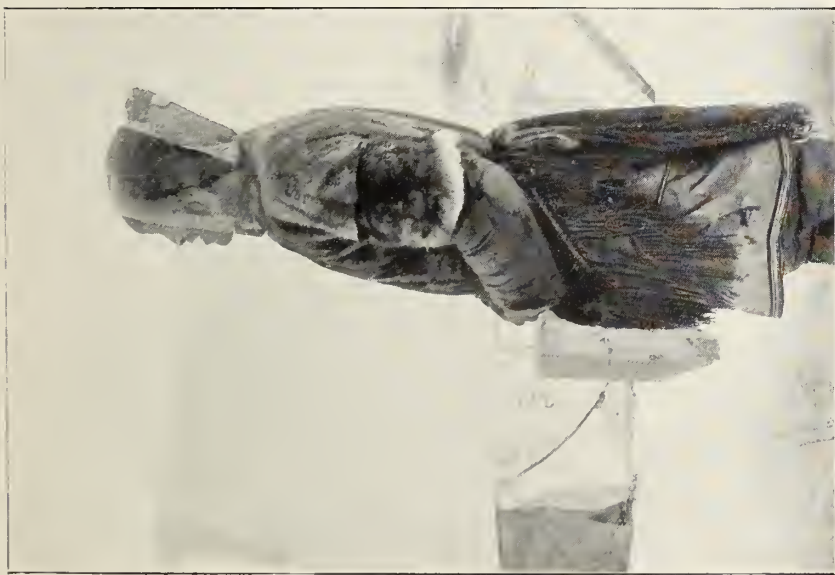
But it was not merely the food that made us keep them somewhat at a distance; it was also the incredibly large numbers of lice with which they were infested. After a brief stay on their platform skins we always had to go home to pick ourselves clean again, and we did not consider this occupation so amusing as did the others in the village; they could sit for hours, bending over their inner frock and picking lice, apparently without this being of the slightest use. In fact we almost formed the opinion that they were fond of the little parasites because they were a sign of spring, a sign that the sun had begun to warm and that the tents were cosy. For in winter lice have difficulty in thriving in the cold snow houses.

Every day the men passed the time stretched out on the snow-bare patches round our tent, interested in what we could think of showing or telling them. In view of their life of idleness we were impressed at the industry displayed by the women. It was they who fetched faggots and twigs and moss for fuel, sometimes from far away, wading through the soaking country. They it was who attended to the cooking fire, and they who flensed all the killed caribou. One day when Igjugârjuk sat smoking his pipe outside his tent, I observed that his wife flensed and cached no fewer than fifteen caribou that he had shot before we arrived there. It never occurred to him to help his wife, and this was not on account of laziness but simply an outcome of the usual distribution of labour. The men procured the food and the women did all the work at the tents. But to a certain extent all this labour has made its mark upon them. They do not need to be old to have their faces marked with wrinkles, their eyes were often red and running with the smoke of the fire, and their hands were large, dirty work-hands with coarse, long nails. They had lost their womanly charm in the work, but were always happy and content and ready to laugh, whatever one said to them.

If the men are idle when they are in camp, it is they who take the hard shift, not only on the hunt but also on the ordinary journeys from hunting ground to hunting ground. A Pâdlermio man boasts that he never lets his wife help him to pull the sledge. Many of them have no more than a pair of dogs. I have seen a man strike camp to start on a long journey with a heavily laden sledge drawn by a single dog and himself; his wife walked alongside it and was not allowed to help at all. There is often a tendency to censure primitive people for leaving all the work to the women. This is often only seemingly so, for as rule there is a definite distribution of labour, and usually it is the men who have the hard part.



Agikhiuk former inland dweller, now moved down to the coast at Sentry Island.



Qijoqud, hunter from Nahiktartorvik.

The snow house is the only dwelling of the Inland Eskimos, and as they have neither blubber nor train oil, they are quite unable to have any warmth inside, although in the cold period the temperature often falls lower than 50°C below zero. But they are so accustomed to living in these cold houses, where of course they keep their frocks on, that it is usually said that a snow house is only comfortable when the temperature is so low that one's frock does not become damp by coming into the living room. As a rule a small tallow dip burns in a hollow stone, not warming the room but merely illuminating it.

Just outside the living room proper, and built into the entrance passage itself, is the so-called iga: a kitchen, that is built with steep walls so that the snow will not melt when the fire is lighted. Here the food is prepared, if fuel is obtainable; this is by no means the case every day during the period when the land is covered with thick snow; often many days pass, during which they have to be content with frozen meat and not even so much as a little mouthful of soup to warm them up.

So that they may always have drinking water, the snow house is built at the edge of a lake, and there they keep a hole open throughout the winter, protected by a snow hut built over the opening in the ice. For like all other Eskimos, who live exclusively on meat, the inland dwellers drink enormous quantities of water.

The one thing that, according to what they say themselves, causes them great trouble, is that they cannot get their footwear dried when they return home with wet stockings after a long hunt, or when they have become so warm through walking or running that their inner frock has become wet. If they have enough skins, the wet garments must be thrown away and replaced by new ones; if not, they must be dried during the night by means of placing the wet parts against the naked breast.

In the month of May the snow houses melt, and the people are obliged to move into tents, usually large, handsome tents of caribou skins, conical in shape, of a type similar to those used by the Indians, but without smoke hole. Opposite the housewife's seat is the fireplace, and there all meals are cooked indoors, as the weather is very windy as a rule. It might be thought that with summer came a time of comfort and ease; this is far from being the case. Cooking indoors means that there can be no curtain at the doorway, and thus one sits either in a fierce draught or in dense smoke from the fire. It happened many times that we had to rush outside, half-stifled, in order to get fresh air, although it had not seemed to cause the inhabitants of the tent any discomfort.

Without doubt the Caribou Eskimos are among the most hardy

racers in the world. Their land offers them severe living conditions, and yet they think it is the best in the world. To us the great contrasts in the various seasons were the most striking features in their life; for they either live in a state of dire need or in an abundance so wonderful that it makes them forget all their troubles.

After a week's life of idleness, most of which passed in this way, that I answered all the questions put to me and really was the story-teller of the village, I had at last gained their confidence to such an extent that I could get the information concerning their intellectual life that I so much desired.

But finally, Igjugârjuk came to me one day and confided to me that I was the only man they had ever met who was both a white man and an Eskimo. They no longer felt shy before me, nor had they any secrets if I would ask. As I was just starting out on a trip to a settlement in the neighbourhood, they had decided to hold a song-feast, and for that feast the woman shaman Kînâlik would remove all the obstacles from the path I was to travel.

The song-feast proceeded under the usual form, just like the one I have previously described. As a rule the singer stood upright in the middle of the floor, whilst the chorus knelt on one knee round about him. It is not considered necessary to have drums at these song-feasts. When the feast was over it was announced that Kînâlik would summon her helping spirits. It was Hila, whose advice was to be asked to help a man who could not manage alone. All singing died away, and the shaman remained standing alone in the middle of the floor with eyes tightly closed. She uttered no charms, but sometimes her face writhed in pain and her whole body commenced to tremble. This was her manner of "seeing inwards", into the secrets of the days to come; the whole thing was to concentrate all one's strength and thoughts upon the one subject: to do good for those who were now to depart. When Kînâlik had gone into a trance, I was asked to go outside the tent and stand at a spot in the snow where there were no foot-prints; there I was to remain until I was summoned in again. On this clean and untrodden place I was to exhibit myself to Hila, stand silent and humble with downcast eyes and merely desire that the sky, the weather and all forces of nature should take notice of me and have pity on me.

It was a remarkable form of devotion that I was now to experience for the first time, and it was the first time I had made the acquaintance of Hila as the good godhead. After I had stood outside for a time, I was called in again and now Kînâlik's face wore its natural expression and she beamed with happiness. She told me that the great spirit had listened to her and that all dangers were removed

from our path, and every time we needed meat we would have successful hunting.

This prophecy was greeted with applause by all present, and we received a vivid impression that these people, in their simple and innocent way, had tried to bring good luck in on our way. I told Kínálik that I firmly believed in her good will to wish us luck and happiness, and in thanks I gave her pretty beads as an offering.

From that day all the shyness that had hitherto met me whenever I touched upon religious subjects, disappeared, and I could ask all the questions I wished to have answered, if only they were able to give answers to all the remarkable things that occurred to me to enquire about.

IV.

Religious ideas.

Whereas many of the coast dwellers dare not even mention the name of Nuliajuk, but call her Kavna: she down there, no similar fear is known among the Inland Eskimos.

In cases of illness they even say sometimes: "nuliajuk qa'git una tōqulermāt iluArhiniArābtigo": "Come, Nuliajuk, for we would make this well again". But on the whole it is only people who have intercourse with the coast dwellers and who in various ways have been influenced by them, that sometimes say Nuliajuk. Here the guiding power is called Pinga: the one up in the sky. A very sharp distinction is made between what belongs to the interior and what comes from "the saltwater people". Thus all trade goods procured from the coast must be treated with the greatest caution if one is in the vicinity of a caribou crossing place: naḅlut aklErnArtō'rjuit: Crossing places require strict taboo. Ordinary fjord seals and spotted seals form exceptions. Dangerous things to have near a crossing place are, in particular, the skin of the bearded seal and the walrus, and walrus tusks. If people work in that kind of material they die, because tuktut nARU-tō'rjuit: the caribou are very fastidious and easily offended.

Only the so-called iglErhōrzimaḡut are allowed to do everything, with very few exceptions. For instance, some of them "may not eat ptarmigan".

iglErhōrzimaḡōq is "a person who is adorned: an amulet person." Amulets are especially sewn on to skin belts, and often they must be "nunāp pe'nik: of the earth's things", by which is also understood insects; and these things that are thus elevated into amulets, should rather be found by strangers at distant villages and acquired by the owner for payment. Most families take care to have a special amulet person, who is allowed to do everything that otherwise is forbidden, but this person must have already acquired his amulets as a child, preferably while an infant. Igjugārjuk's younger wife was one of these. Though her husband was a shaman, he had not to touch, i. e.



Qijoqut and his wife Hilo, from Nahiktartoruk.



The shaman woman Kindtk (seated) with her sister Atqaratâq, both from Hikolijuaq.

work with, the skin of the bearded seal. Whenever a thong had to be split or merely a few stitches put in a sole, this work was strictly forbidden him and she had to do it for him.

Therefore every family tries as far as possible to have a *merzörtöq*, i. e. a seamstress who is allowed to sew soleskins of bearded seal, which can be bought from the coast dwellers.

On a particular occasion I told them how the coast dwellers had described their *Nuliajuk* as a big woman, who had once been seen on the ice and had caused great terror; despite the reverence in which they held "the mother of the animals of the sea", they had attacked her, and she had been harpooned by a certain *Qalaseq*, a former *Netsilik*, who now lived at *Chesterfield Inlet*. She had quickly escaped, however. To this *Igjugârjuk* answered that nobody in his tribe knew what *Pinga* looked like. Nor did they know how she had come up into the sky.

They say of the animals: „*pi^wsuma qaⁱjumagahiarpai nerzutip kiziän'e inminik hanazut: pi^wsuma* doubtless knows the animals, but they look after themselves." They come and go when they feel inclined to wander, they live their own lives quite independently of man and *Pinga* does not interfere in this. Thus *angatkut* are not even able to have any influence upon the wanderings of the animals. The animals have their habits, which man does not understand. That is why one must starve and be powerless in the face of a scarcity of game. Thus the *angatkut* of the Caribou Eskimos cannot undertake to procure game for man. Nor is it believed that the animals live with *Pinga*. They are on the earth and belong to the earth. (See the story of the creation of the caribou).

The only things the *angatkut* of the Caribou Eskimos occupy themselves with are: 1) The healing of people with bodily diseases, 2) healing and rescuing them from the evil of other people, and 3) the magic arts.

If a sick person is to be saved, he must surrender all his goods: these must be carried away and laid on the ground far away from man. They are offered to *Pinga*, *inu^p anEr[']nine kihiat piginiarmago*, i. e. if a sick person is to have any hope of being cured, he must own nothing but his breath.

The soul of a man is the same as a man's life force: *o[']ma^wfia*: or the seat of breathing. Thus it is said: *inuk anEr[']neqarpät täga pi^w-suma qaⁱumaja[']ra[']; anEr[']nera nuqup[']ät qaⁱumaju[']nara[']*, that is to say: as long as a man has his breath, *Pinga*, too, will be attentive to him, but when a man's breathing ceases, *Pinga* will no longer acknowledge or know him.

When a person dies, the soul leaves the body. The body becomes

nothing, but the soul, which cannot die, and which merely leaves the person. *majörpəq*: ascends to Pinga, who receives it. If the person has lived in accordance with the precepts of the ancients, their taboos and other rules, he goes on living, as Pinga places the soul in some animal or other; one need not become a human being again. The animal in which the human soul is placed is then brought down to earth by the spirit of the moon. The spirit of the moon is Pinga's servant and is not an independently working spirit as among the coast dwellers. When the moon is not in the sky it is because it is occupied in bringing human souls to earth. There are those who believe that the souls of those who have not lived according to the wisdom of their ancestors are destroyed, placed on *u^wkaq*: the fireplace in a tent or a snow house, and there burnt up. (Possibly this is influence from missionaries at the coast).

23 { The Caribou Eskimos, who only have the caribou to live upon and clothe themselves in, must exercise the greatest caution in handling the killed animal. When a caribou has been killed, everything that is not taken home must be covered up. This applies especially to entrails, paunch and blood. In these there is a great part of the strongest life of the caribou, and Pinga must not see that this is treated with disrespect. Finally, Pinga does not want too many animals killed; some, certainly, but no extermination.

The many religious ideas about the moon do not exist at all among the Pädlermiut; this is connected with the fact that they have no need for regulating the moon's influence upon the tides. They merely know the same folk tales as all other Eskimos of how the moon came to the sky, but the spirits associated with the moon stories, as for instance the Iglulik's *Erlavêrsijôq* or *Ululiarnâq*: the eater of entrails, are not known. As a consequence, the shamans do not make spirit journeys to the moon.

They do not know much about *ilihe'cut*, or people who make bad magic to harm others. These are as a rule women, and about them it is said: *tuha'majamiñnit icarnicât pijiânînik tōquha^mmik aqōrtōr'lugo ilihe'r'lugo*, which means: they know some old magic word or other, fatal words, and these they pronounce, repeating at the same time the name of the person over whom they wish to throw a magic spell. They know nothing about witchcraft with the help of graves or things that belong to the dead, but only by evil charms that are passed down from witch to witch.

As has already been observed, *angalkut* are first and foremost healers, but they can also examine a road that is to be travelled; in that case, however, they must seek solitude far away from people. There they sit down at a place where there are no footprints, draw



Two young women outside their tent. One is busy chewing kamik soles, the other is characteristic owing to the much fancied shoulder shawl and also by the brow band of brass, which as a rule is fashioned out of an old cast-off telescope.

their hood up over their head and the hands right inside the armholes; they close their eyes, and then try to see the road that is to be examined. Sometimes they fall asleep and see their visions in a dream, or a spirit comes down invisibly from the air, hovers over them, speaks from the air and tells them what the road is like. If there are lurking dangers, these must be avoided by the traveller seeking other roads, and, if the advice of the shaman is not taken, one becomes ill.

As soon as the shaman has sat down in order to go into a trance and has drawn his hood over his head, he must be careful not to take his mittens off his hands, nor may he spit on the ground while waiting for his vision; if he must spit, he must spit on himself. A man who in this manner tries to see a vision, or who summons his helping spirits, is called an aṇātku^{ar}zizōq. The shaman is called aṇātkōq, whilst a novice is called aṇātkukjārtōq.

Shamans and their training.

I have all the following information from Igjugârjuk.

The length of the novitiate varies; only the means are the same. One can only become a wise man, a shaman, through sufferings that are almost enough to kill; the novice exposes himself to cold and hunger, to drowning and to death by shooting. The manner selected by Igjugârjuk for "exhibiting" himself was to starve and expose himself to cold. For the novice receives his special powers by "exhibiting" himself to Hila — by letting Hila see him and take notice of him. One says: hilāp takuniarmatit, hilāp ijiginiara'tit, which means: Hila must see you and take notice of you, Hila must keep her eye on you.

Even such an outstandingly clever shaman as Igjugârjuk had difficulty in defining the spirit Hila, declaring time after time that Hila was the same as Pinga, and that Pinga corresponded to the Nuliajuk of the coast dwellers. But as soon as we went further into the various functions of these spirits, it was found that Pinga did not quite coincide with Nuliajuk; Pinga had the special care of the caribou, whereas Hila, as among the coast dwellers, represented everything one feared in the air. These are the cold, when the sun disappears, the gales, and especially perjōq, the snowdrift, which stops all traffic under the open sky and which, when it lasts for months together, brings with it privation and death from starvation. Everything that man fears from the air is personified in Hilap inua, who can both bring about disaster and, if man understands how to approach her through magic words or shamans, avert it.

I will endeavour to reproduce Igjugârjuk's own statement of

Hila

how he became a shaman. He spoke slowly, and I was able to write down his statement word for word. It was made gradually, as he thought of it, and therefore the sequence is not always correct, and small interpolations sometimes disturb the continuity:

"When I was to be a shaman, I chose suffering through the two things that are most dangerous to us humans, suffering through hunger and suffering through cold. First I hungered five days and was then allowed to drink a mouthful of warm water; the old ones say that only if the water is warm will Pinga and Hila notice the novice and help him. Thereafter I went hungry another fifteen days, and again was given a mouthful of warm water. After that I hungered for ten days, and then could begin to eat, though it only had to be *aklErnāñicut*, that is to say the sort of food on which there is never any taboo, preferably fleshy meat, and never intestines, head, heart or other entrails, nor meat that had been touched by wolf or wolverine while it lay in a cache. I was to keep to this diet for five moons, and then the next five moons might eat everything; but after that I was again forced to eat the meat diet that is prescribed for all those who must do penance in order to become clean. The old ones attached great importance to the food that the would-be shamans might eat; thus a novice who wished to possess the ability to kill had never to eat the salmon that we call *hiu'l̥xit*. If they eat *hiu'l̥xit*, they will, instead of killing others, kill themselves.

My instructor was my wife's father, *Perqánâq*. When I was to be exhibited to Pinga and Hila, he dragged me on a little sledge that was no bigger than I could just sit on it; he dragged me far over on the other side of *Hikoligjuaq*. It was a very long day's journey inland to a place we call *Kingârjuit*: the high hills, which are at *Tike-rarjuaq* (by the southeast shore of *Hikoligjuaq*). It was in winter time and took place at night with the new moon; one could just see the very first streak of the moon; it had just appeared in the sky. I was not fetched again until the next moon was of the same size. *Perqánâq* built a small snow hut at the place where I was to be, this snow hut being no bigger than that I could just get under cover and sit down. I was given no sleeping skin to protect me against the cold, only a little piece of caribou skin to sit upon. There I was shut in: *uk'uartôrpoq kiziän'e ha'nago*: The entrance was closed with a block, but no soft snow was thrown over the hut to make it warm. When I had sat there five days, *Perqánâq* came with water, tepid, wrapped in caribou skin, a watertight caribou-skin bag. Not until fifteen days afterwards did he come again and hand me the same, just giving himself time to hand it to me, and then he was gone again, for even the

old shaman must not interrupt my solitude. The snow hut in which I sat was built far from the trails of men, and when Perqânâq had found the spot where he thought it ought to be built, he stopped the little sledge at a distance, and there I had to remain seated until the snow hut was ready. Not even I, who was after all the one to have to stay there, might set my footprints in the vicinity of the hut, and old Perqânâq had to carry me from the sledge over to the hut so that I could crawl in. As soon as I had become alone, Perqânâq enjoined me to think of one single thing all the time I was to be there, to want only one single thing, and that was to draw Pinga's attention to the fact that there I sat and wished to be a shaman, piŋ'âp qa'jumaniarmaŋa: Pinga should own me. My novitiate took place in the middle of the coldest winter, and I, who never got anything to warm me, and must not move, was very cold, and it was so tiring having to sit without daring to lie down, that sometimes it was as if I died a little. Only towards the end of the thirty days did a helping spirit come to me, a lovely and beautiful helping spirit, whom I had never thought of; it was a white woman: she came to me whilst I had collapsed, exhausted, and was sleeping. But still I saw her lifelike, hovering over me, and from that day I could not close my eyes or dream without seeing her. There is this remarkable thing about my helping spirit, that I have never seen her while awake, but only in dreams. She came to me from Pinga and was a sign that Pinga had now noticed me and would give me powers that would make me a shaman.

When a new moon was lighted and had the same size as the one that had shone for us when we left the village, Perqânâq came again with his little sledge and stopped a long way from the snow hut. But by this time I was not very much alive any more and had not the strength to rise, in fact I could not stand on my feet. Perqânâq pulled me out of the hut and carried me down to the sledge and dragged me home in the same manner as he had dragged me to Kíngârjuit. I was now so completely emaciated that the veins on my hands and body and feet had quite disappeared: taqa'rublu-arluŋa. For a long time I might only eat very little in order to again get my intestines extended, and later came the diet that was to help to cleanse my body.

For a whole year I was not to lie with my wife, who, however, had to make my food. For a whole year I had to have my own little cooking pot and my own meat dish; no one else was allowed to eat of what had been cooked for me.

Later, when I had quite become myself again, I understood that I had become the shaman of my village, and it did happen that my

neighbours or people from a long distance away called me to heal a sick person, or to "inspect a course" if they were going to travel. When this happened, the people of my village were called together and I told them what I had been asked to do. Then I left tent or snow house and went out into solitude: *ahiar*mut, away from the dwellings of man, but those who remained behind had to sing continuously: *quiahunialukhin'ArLutik*, just to keep themselves happy and lively. If anything difficult had to be found out, my solitude had to extend over three days and two nights, or three nights and two days. In all that time I had to wander about without rest, and only sit down once in a while on a stone or a snow drift. When I had been out long and had become tired, I could almost doze and dream what I had come out to find and about which I had been thinking all the time. Every morning, however, I could come home and report on what I had so far found, but as soon as I had spoken I had to return again, out into the open, out to places where I could be quite alone. In the time when one is out seeking, one may eat a little, but not much. If a shaman "out of the secrets of solitude" finds out that the sick person will die, he can return home and stay there without first having allowed the usual time to pass. It is only in cases of a possible cure that he must remain out the whole time. On the first night after returning from such a spirit wandering in solitude, the shaman must not lie with his wife, nor must he undress when going to sleep, nor lie down at full length, but must sleep in a sitting position.

These days of "seeking for knowledge" are very tiring, for one must walk all the time, no matter what the weather is like and only rest in short snatches. I am usually quite done up, tired, not only in body but also in head, when I have found what I sought.

We shamans in the interior have no special spirit language, and believe that the real *angatkut* do not need it. On my travels I have sometimes been present at a seance among the saltwater-dwellers, for instance among the coast people at *Utkuhigjalik* (Back River, or Great Fish River). These *angatkut* never seemed trustworthy to me. It always appeared to me that these salt-water *angatkut* attached more weight to tricks that would astonish the audience, when they jumped about the floor and lisped all sorts of absurdities and lies in their so-called spirit language; to me all this seemed only amusing and as something that would impress the ignorant. A real shaman does not jump about the floor and do tricks, nor does he seek by the aid of darkness, by putting out the lamps, to make the minds of his neighbours uneasy. For myself, I do not think I know much, but I do not think that wisdom or knowledge about things that are hidden can be sought



Above: View of *Lower Kazan River* when the ice is breaking up. — Below: *Baker Lake* in springtime, with drifting ice floes.

in that manner. True wisdom is only to be found far away from people, out in the great solitude, and it is not found in play but only through suffering. Solitude and suffering open the human mind, and therefore a shaman must seek his wisdom there.

But during my visits to the salt-water shamans, both down about Igluligârjuk and Utkuhigjalik, I have never openly expressed my contempt for their manner of summoning their helping spirits. A stranger ought always to be cautious, for — one may never know — they may of course be skilful in magic and, like our shamans, be able to kill through words and thoughts. This that I am telling you now, I dare to confide to you, because you are a stranger from a far away country, but I would never speak about it to my own kinsmen, except those whom I should teach to become shamans. While I was at Utkuhigjalik, people there had heard from my wife that I was a shaman, and therefore they once asked me to cure a sick man, a man who was so wasted that he could no longer swallow food. I summoned all the people of the village together and asked them to hold a song-feast, as is our custom, because we believe that all evil will shun a place where people are happy. And when the song-feast began, I went out alone into the night. They laughed at me, and my wife was later on able to tell me how they mocked me, because I would not do tricks to entertain everybody. But I kept away in lonely places, far from the village, for five days, thinking uninterruptedly of the sick man and wishing him health. He got better, and since then nobody at that village has mocked me”.

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Thus did Igjugârjuk speak about himself and his special powers, and the whole of the characteristic I have given him elsewhere will, I hope, make it obvious that he himself believed everything he told me. Nor had he in fact any reason for lying or exaggerating. I never attempted to contradict him, even if some of his accounts seemed quite improbable to me. For instance, I could not understand that a man could survive thirty to fifty degrees of cold, sitting in a tiny snow hut without taking any nourishment, simply a little tepid water twice during the whole period. I was afraid of making him cautious by doubting or asking him questions, and after all what I wanted to get to know, here as elsewhere, was these people's own beliefs. And there is not the slightest doubt that they themselves believed that the holy art itself, which consisted in being able to see into the riddles of life, imparted to novices and practitioners some special power that enabled them to go through what ordinary mortals would not be able to survive.

The religious ideas of the Caribou Eskimos, and especially those

of the Pádlermiut, are among the most primitive I have found among all the Eskimos I visited throughout the whole expedition. The mistress of the animals of the hunt, Pinga, lives somewhere up in the air or in the sky, and is often named quite indiscriminately with Hila; she is the guardian of all life, both man and animal, but she does not offer man eternal hunting grounds like the godhead of the coast dwellers; she collects all life on the land itself, and makes it eternal solely in this manner, that everything living reappears there.

When an animal or a person dies, the soul leaves the body and flies to Pinga who then lets the life or the soul rise again in another being, either man or animal. As a rule there is no fear of death, and I remember that Igjugârjuk would sometimes say half jokingly, that he had undoubtedly been so imperfect as a human being that his soul, when it went to Pinga after his death, would only be allowed to rise again as a little, burrowing lemming.

But despite the primitiveness of their ideas, one cannot help being astonished at the many shrewd observations these people make about life and what takes place on earth. The salt-water shamans believe that they can summon seals to the villages that are devastated by famine, but the Inland Eskimos say, quite soberly by the way, that the animals have definite laws for their wanderings and that no shaman can interfere in these. And their shaman philosophy is such as is expressed through Igjugârjuk's statement of how true wisdom can only be attained through sufferings in solitude of almost sublime simplicity.

In the following I will describe examples of the other methods of becoming a shaman.

The shaman woman Kînâlik.

Kînâlik was the name of the young woman who once "exhibited" me to Hila when I was about to start out on a sledge journey under difficult conditions; it was just when the ice was breaking up. She was about thirty years of age and gave the impression of being very intelligent, was pleasant, neat, cleanly, amiable, trusting and communicative. She had a good reputation as a shaman woman and, like her male colleagues, had a special shaman belt, to which were fastened the following:

A piece of a gun butt, which she had to carry because she had become a shaman through "death visions", i. e. death by shooting.

A piece of sinew thread which had held two tent poles fast and had been used for qilaneq.



Kindik coming home with a load of faggots on her back.



Young wife, a former Paddermito, now living on Senty Island.

A ribbon that had once been tied round a piece of tobacco she had been presented with; she was welcome to smoke the tobacco itself, but the ribbon that had been round the gift acquired miraculous powers, when placed on the shaman belt.

A piece of the cap of qaluhEra^{ut}, her dead brother,

hermerzihiut's feet, a polar bear that was her helping spirit.

An ordinary piece of white caribou skin, which had received magical powers because it was a gift.

A piece of knitted vest that had belonged to a white man.

A caribou tooth.

Mittens of caribou skin.

A piece of skin from a seal flipper.

All the components of the belt were gifts. These never need be large or costly, but the circumstance that they have been given as presents imparts power to them.

Kînâlik had once dreamed about a man in the tribe, dreamed that he would become ill. This was taken as a sign of her disposition for shamanism, the dream having been put into her by spirits. The shaman Igjugârjuk, her brother-in-law, therefore made up his mind to make her a shaman. The people of the village were called together, and Kînâlik's old mother Abggârjuk then asked Igjugârjuk to shoot her. She had previously spent five whole days out, suspended in tent-poles, raised above the ground, in order that Hila might see her and take notice of her. It was winter, cold blizzards were blowing, but she noticed nothing of the cold because her helping spirits were with her.

When she was to be shot, she was placed on a skin, sitting by iga, the separate kitchen that is built into the entrance passage; she was placed between iga and the living room itself. She had not to be shot with a lead bullet, but with something from the earth, a little stone. Igjugârjuk therefore shot her with a small round stone in the presence of all the villagers, and she fell over, dead. After that there was a song-feast. Kînâlik lay dead the whole night. She suffered nothing, her future helping spirits protected her. The next morning, just when Igjugârjuk was about to call her to life again, she woke up of her own accord. It now appeared that she had been shot in the heart. Later the stone was taken out and is now preserved by her old mother.

Through this death Kînâlik had become acceptable to helping spirits; Hila had noticed her, and the helping spirits might come to her of themselves. Her principal helping spirit was her dead brother qaluhEra^{ut}. She spoke freely and cheerfully about how her dead brother used to come to her, for among the Caribou Eskimos they

are not afraid to mention the dead by name. He used to come to her gliding through the air, legs uppermost, head downwards, but as soon as he had reached the ground he could walk like an ordinary man.

Her other helping spirit was the polar bear *hermerzihiut*.

Igjugârjuk did not carry her training further, as he thought it a pity to let her suffer more. For of course the fact is that the more one suffers for one's art, the greater shaman one becomes.

Igjugârjuk has also trained Aggiârtoq, a young man, to be a shaman. In this case he used the third form of suffering, viz. drowning. Aggiârtoq was tied fast to a long tent pole and then carried by Igjugârjuk and Ulibvaq — an elderly man in the village — down to a big lake. There a hole was hewn in the ice and, clad in caribou-skin frock, mittens and full outfit, Aggiârtoq, bound to the tent pole, was pushed down through the hole so that he stood on the bottom of the lake. There they let him stay five whole days, and when they took him up again he was as dry as if he had never been in water. This young man's helping spirits were the spirit of his dead mother and a human skeleton.

Incredulity and scepticism.

In the foregoing I mentioned how the Caribou Eskimos often have their doubts about the salt-water shamans, who do so many tricks for the purpose of convincing people; to the inland dwellers their shamanizing becomes less solemn and more a performance than a searching for the truth. A young man from Baker Lake told me of the following characteristic example of this:

A man named Utahania, from Hikoligjuaq, during a stay at the coast had said that he did not believe in the Tahiuarmiut's *angatkoq*, who otherwise was very respected. For this reason the criticised shaman invited Utahania to be present at a seance, which was described as follows by eye-witnesses:

First the shaman shot himself in the forehead with a gun of heavy calibre. The bullet went in through his brow and came out through one sleeve. He shot himself in the heart in the same manner. Then he went out with the men of his village, while the women had to remain in the house. A shotgun was set up with the muzzle pointing towards him, and then he ran towards it and disappeared into the barrel. He could be heard speaking inside it. Then the shotgun was carried into the house. It was then very heavy to carry. Inside the house they suddenly heard a voice from inside the barrel say: "*ipileqihuqa*: I am choking", and so the gun was taken outside and the shaman crept out again.

This shaman had a walrus for an amulet, and he allowed his amulet to come into the entrance passage of the house. It could be heard dragging its heavy body in through the passage, and from the passage it squirted salt water in on to the floor of the house, for the shaman kept the walrus out in the passage and did not allow it to come inside. Later the walrus appeared at the window and the shaman harpooned it from the house through the window, without the window being broken. In this manner he convinced Utahania of his powers as a shaman, and after that Utahania declared himself a believer.

My authority was a pronounced Caribou Eskimo, a skilful hunter, lively, and displayed marked common sense when asked about anything that was a little out of the ordinary. He was very interested in the missionaries at Chesterfield and expressed his grave doubts that they really could know so much about the heavenly things as they said they did. "Qanokiaq?" "I wonder how it will be with all their promises?" Mankind was promised either *quianartorjuaq ihəqāŋ'icəq* or *uvkaq uvkarne a'niarfik ihəqāŋ'icəq*: a joy without end or a burning fire, and in this fire torture without end, and he added laughingly, just as a young and flippant civilized man might have done. "I myself will never be found good enough for the everlasting joys, but would, if I believed in the missionaries, end on the fire with the endless tortures".

About the *angatkut* he said: "There are certainly *angatkut* who are frauds, but there are others, *qanokiaq*: I wonder?" by which he meant that there was just as much reason for believing in them as doubting them. In other words, among the most primitive Eskimos we also find people who know nothing of unquestioning faith, but are born sceptics.

This scepticism was not uncommon. I once travelled together with a *Pädlermio*, *Oqûtaq*, who once had been a shaman novice but had "changed his mind". It was not the sufferings he had to go through that had scared him, but it was quite impossible for him to obtain any contact with his helping spirits or see all the remarkable signs that his master asserted were given him. *Oqûtaq* said candidly that he believed it was all lies and humbug, and only intended for people who were either born timid or were easily fooled. Therefore he did not wish to be a shaman, although to his kinsmen he simply said that he did not think his qualifications were good enough. Thus despite the fact that he was quite convinced that there was both calculation and speculation in most of what the shamans did, he dared not openly give expression to that belief. He told me that as I was a stranger he did not mind speaking frankly to me, but this he did not dare to do to his countrymen; and here again we have the same thing that we have

met with so often before: True or untrue, one can never know whether the shamans may not after all have such magical powers that might rebound against the incredulous! And so one preferred to keep one's doubts private.

But although there are thus sceptics and unbelievers among the Caribou Eskimos too, one can only say that on the whole the genuine shamans work with an honest mind and an absolute belief that what they do is done with the help of an inspiration which, in some inexplicable manner, they receive from the guiding spirits of the universe.

Tupilait and qilaneq.

Tupilait, who can bring sickness or death or bad hunting to a village, and who plays such an extremely important rôle down by the coast in all shamanizing, are not known in the same sense among the Inland Eskimos. There not even the greatest shaman can so much as see a tupiläk. It is said that they are a kind of magic animal, sometimes as big as a fox, sometimes like caribou, and that they have the power to suddenly grow and to suddenly become small. They vomit fire, their breath is fire, and therefore a human being will become blind if he meets a tupiläk. They attack, or rather try to attack villages, but are traced by a shaman's helping spirits, who are able to pursue them through the air just as one can track a caribou by its foot-prints. It is said that the helping spirits eat these evil spirits when they have killed them. The only shaman who thought she had seen a tupiläk was Kinâlik. It was a goblin animal, with legs like a fox, head like a human being, but with a snout that looked like a dog's. It was hairy all over its body, but with hair that she was unable to recognize. It is worth noting that in this description of a tupiläk she exactly agrees with the South Greenland and especially the East Greenland idea of what this spirit looks like.

Besides ordinary shamanizing, these people also know the usual qilaneq, only here they use a special qidlät staff, an ordinary stick to which the shaman belt is tied. A piece of skin is then laid over the shaman belt itself, and the spirit comes up in the usual manner through the ground. When a spirit, for instance qaluhEra^{ut}, was to be summoned, the charm for this form of qilaneq was: "qaⁱjiniArmata qaⁱjjuarArtut qaluhEra^{ut} qa^{ut}: you must now enlighten these people who wish to know what is hidden; come here, qaluhEra^{ut}, come". This was repeated time after time until the staff became so heavy that one could no longer lift either it or the shaman belt, quite in the same manner as a qilaneq proceeds by lifting another person's head with



Above: A kayak from *Hikoligjuaq*. — Below: With the dog-sledge in over the
Barren Grounds.

a thong. As soon as the shaman staff becomes heavy, it means that the spirit is present, and its advice may then be asked.

Customs at birth and at death.

kamidla'rtōq (meaning: a woman who takes her kamiks off) is the name given to a woman who gives birth to a child. She must not have her special confinement hut as among the salt-water dwellers, in fact, she does not even leave her place in the house. They say: kamid-la'rniarpōq tātqit nuṇudlugo kiziāne tagva ama'r'lugo aniniarame, which means: she must not put her kamiks on until a whole month has passed, but then she can go out, carrying her child in her amaut.

It will be recollected how a woman down by the coast must always be alone when she gives birth to a child. Here she is helped by the other women, two as a rule. The mother assumes the following position: padlōrlune hakiai tuṇavilerlutik ikajōrtup a'pa'ta akha'jigut tiguḅlugo a'pa'ta na'za qula'gut Eqitlugo am'ut hiṇit'a'rlugo nutaraq anihin'iar'lugo. This was dictated by Atqâralâq, Igjugârjuk's wife, and means: She must lie on her stomach, but so that her breast has something to lie on; one of the helpers takes her by the hands and the other must grip her round the waist with her arm a little above the stomach and stroke with pressure downwards to make the child come out". This latter stroking movement can be carried out by several women in turn.

When a woman has had a child, she may only go outside after the second month. During the first five days the part of her upper body that is touched by the child must be covered with a caribou-skin rug. Before the child is born the name is determined by the parents and not, as among the coast dwellers, by a shaman. Names are used indiscriminately, i. e. the same names for boys and girls. The naming itself is performed without any ceremony whatever. As a rule it is one of the women who have helped at the birth who first says the name. They say: ub̄x̄rihimahartik atiliublugo i. e. call after one who is missed.

For a whole month after a woman has had a child she must have her own sleeping skin and in all that time must not lie with her husband. The reason for this is explained thus: nutaraq inō'rqa'rlune ajōrnātla'rpānmāt: because a newly born child is often difficult to rear. Only in the second month may husband and wife resume their cohabitation. In the first month, when the woman is called kamitla'rtōq she must have her own cooking pot: uvkuseq, meat tray: po'gutaq, and drinking bowl: Erṇut, and in that time may only eat flesh. If she

gnaws a bone she deprives her husband of his quarry. As long as the child is small, i. e. up to three or four years, she must not eat head, entrails or marrow or eggs and on the whole nothing "of animals that fly".

When a woman kamigpōq, i. e. puts on her kamiks again after a birth, she must throw away all the clothing that the skin of her body has touched: under clothing and sleeping skin. All she may keep are the outer frock and outer trousers.

When she once again eats with her husband, in the second month after the birth, care must be taken that the bones she is now allowed to gnaw are not thrown to the dogs. These bones must be preserved and kept in a cache.

The child must have its amulets as quickly as possible after birth. These amulets, if they are animals, must be caught alive without first being wounded, or, if they are flowers, they must not be plucked by the father or the mother but only bought by them and preferably of people from distant villages. Later, the wearer of the amulet must never kill any of the animals of which his or her amulet is made, otherwise it will lose its power.

The most common forms of amulets are: ptarmigan, gulls, swans and various kinds of small birds, besides ermines, lemmings, bees and other insects. The insects are sewn into small skin bags and thereafter sewn on to the inner frock. People, especially women, who are to be above all ordinary taboo and are to be allowed to do things that are forbidden to others, are given special amulet belts which they always wear.

The old story recorded in the foregoing as being known to the coast dwellers, to the effect that man was once immortal, is not known here. The coast dwellers believe that death came to man once when an island became over-populated and one of them shouted in the air when there was no longer any room: "Let people die, for we can no longer be contained in our country". This story is not known at any rate to those I worked with among the Pâdlermiut. The information I secured there was limited to the following:

When a person dies, the body must only remain in the house overnight, it being sufficient the first night to wrap the shroud round it, tie it up in the burial skin and lay it right up at the back of the platform. Five days after a death all the people in the village must do a sort of penance, refraining from eating entrails, head, marrow and similar food that is forbidden to the unclean. Nor may meat be taken from the caches during these five days, that is to say old summer or autumn caches; only freshly caught animals may be brought home. Hunting in these five days is not forbidden and salmon may

be fished in the lakes. But a caribou must never be flensed in the house where the corpse has lain. If no fresh meat is procurable, they must keep to what was in the house before the death occurred. There must be no digging in the ground, gathering fuel or taking peat or mud for sledge shoeing in these five days. Nor may one eat in the open air, but only inside the houses.

When the corpse is to be taken out of the house or tent, it is always, as among the coast dwellers, passed through the rear wall, never through the doorway. For if a corpse is taken out through the doorway, all the game will become shy and disappear and the people of the village will starve to death.

The dead, who as stated is tied up in a caribou skin, is carried on another caribou skin to the place where he or she is to be buried. This is done by the relatives, both men and women. The burial skin is called here *im̄noheq*, in contrast to the coast dwellers' *aimisaq*. Often the corpse may be brought up to the burial place immediately after death has taken place.

In the five days during which the relatives mourn a dead person and do penance, the grave must be visited morning and evening, and there the loud lamentations are voiced. They say: "t̄oquj̄oq qa¹qugalu-arLugo qa¹j̄āñic̄orjuaq: We call to the dead to make him return again, though we know he cannot hear".

It seems to be general that the period for doing penance after a death is always five days, whether it is for a man or a woman. The custom of the coast dwellers that in these five days the women must wear their hair loose, is not known.

Those who have helped with a dead body need not throw their clothing away; it is sufficient to cut off a narrow edging of the sleeve band and at the same time discard their caribou-skin mittens. Caribou-skin garments are not used whilst the corpse is being shrouded, only — and then always — when it is being carried up to the place where it is to be enclosed in stones.

As soon as the five days are over, sparks are struck with a fire-stone on the floor by a man who has especially effective amulets; then the firestones are thrown on the floor and all in the house must say: *to¹-t̄o¹q-t̄o¹q!* This is called *ibra¹juartut*: "putting themselves in order again". No one is afraid to mention the name of the departed, and if, for instance, a visitor comes, they say quite openly that he or she is dead. The custom of setting a sledge up on end before a house where there has been a death is not known, nor do they lay either knives or ulos under their pillow.

It will be remembered that widows among many coast dwellers must subject themselves to extremely severe and difficult taboos until

a whole year has elapsed after the death. Among the inland dwellers a widow may eat with others after five days.

Offerings after a death are rarely made. Yet I have seen some men who have lost a wife to whom they were very much attached, bring garments and sleeping skins to the grave every year about the time of the anniversary of the wife's death.

Among the coast dwellers, it will also be remembered, for a whole year after a man's death none of his housemates had to do any work with the knife. Everything they needed making must be made by others. This is only in force for five days here, where all *aklerput*: do penance.

It is not necessary to build a new snow house immediately after a death.

If a child is still-born, the mother has to *kamitla'rpøq* for ten days only, and afterwards *aklerpoq* for two months, i. e. have her own cooking pot, meat tray, drinking bowl and not eat of any animals that can fly or their eggs, nor any entrails, heart, head, tongue, etc. She must do with her clothing as at a normal birth.

Rules of life.

Recorded among the Qaernermiut but also known among all other Caribou Eskimos.

As we know, the northern lights are looked upon by the coast dwellers as being the games of the souls, ball games with a walrus head in the eternal hunting grounds up in the sky. Of the northern lights, which are called *Aqhřsät*, the Qaernermiut say: *ihumaminik pijut; hiläp ihumaminik pizai*: they appear of themselves, or it is Hila or the weather, who let them grow out of themselves.

Dogs must never gnaw at a caribou antler. If they do, they deprive their owner of his quarry.

No one, except women with special amulets, may sew or cut bearded-seal skin bought from the coast dwellers.

A young woman with an infant, while on a sledge journey, must never eat anything while passing a lake.

A young woman with an infant may not eat salmon heads or salmon cooked with the head, or salmon on the whole if the entrails have not been removed immediately after the fish was caught; the same applies to naturally dead salmon or the meat of a caribou that has been shot in the heart.

No one may eat salmon on the same day that berries have been eaten.



Above: Two little girls from *Harvaqtôrmiut* — Below: Left: *Kibkârjuk*, *Igjugârjuk*'s other wife, one of my best story-tellers. Right: *Huwakzuk*, who was said to have turned black in the face because one night she slept beside a corpse.

Men must not eat milt; if they do, they are deprived of their sexual impulse.

Men may not eat the eyes of animals, salmon, etc. as this gives bad eyesight.

When a milk tooth falls out, it must be placed under the platform skin, the owner desiring a tooth of the great head that once was this caribou's head. The following magic verse is then sung:

niAqərjuAq kigutiga kigutitariuk
 kigutitlo kigutitârilara
 tun'ərtərajuḡnartumik
 əqArtərajuḡnartumik
 pin'ertumik
 hite'jumik.

Great head, take my tooth to be your tooth
 And give me your tooth to be my tooth
 That I may have a tooth that often eats rich fat
 That often eats tongue
 A fine tooth
 A hard tooth, that will not break.

Women may not eat with people, men or women, whom they have never seen before.

Women may never eat with men.

Women with children may not eat salmon that have not been gutted immediately after being killed.

If the trout that is called hE'q is caught in a salmon net, it should be thrown alive into the water again, or no salmon will be caught.

If a loon gets into the salmon net, it should be allowed to fly away. If not, no more salmon will be caught. If the loon has died in the net, one should take care to place it where the dogs cannot eat it.

V.

Ballads and songs of derision.

The Caribou Eskimos are very fond of singing, and have a simple, but often effective manner of reproducing happenings and feelings. Here, of course, as among so many other Eskimos, autumn and winter are the great times for song, for if there is meat enough, and people can assemble for festive entertainment, singing provides not only the staple feature of the programme, but affords also a very pleasant means of passing the long, dark, cold evenings.

Our stay among them fell during the hunting season, and the lightest period of the year, and there was therefore not so much occasion for singing and dancing. But we saw enough nevertheless to enable one to realise what it means to these people now and again to shake off the monotony of everyday life. At the song festivals at which we were present there were gathered as many as could find room in the biggest tent in the village. And the one who was to sing — or whose songs were to be sung — would then take up a position in the middle of the floor, with closed eyes, and accompany the song with a swaying of the hips, while the women, who sat bunched together on the sleeping place, joined in every now and then as a chorus, mingling their higher notes with the deep tones of the male singer. The drum was manipulated in the usual manner, but often there was none available, and it was not missed.

I give here, as in the case of the Iglulingmiut, the first few of the songs in a somewhat freer rendering, based on the singer's explanations and information as to what is omitted in the actual text as being obvious to his neighbours. The freer rendering applies only to some of the songs, which, by the way, are also given both in the original Eskimo form and in a word-for-word translation. But I may doubtless take it for granted that not all my readers understand the Eskimo language, so as to appreciate the poetic value of the songs directly



Above: A *Qaernermio* sledge, with the mud shoeing covered with caribou skins to prevent it melting in the sun. — Below: A summer removal, when even little girls help with the carrying of the tent furnishings.

from the original, and the freer rendering is only intended to give for those unacquainted with the language, the spirit and atmosphere of the verses, as they appear to one who hears them.

Igjugârjuk's song of the musk ox.

haja'ja — haja'ja	Hayaija — hayaya
aja'ja — aja'ja	Ayaiya — ayaiya
ja'ja'ja — ja aja'ja	Yaiyaija — ya ayaija
qernertörzuit	I ran with all my strength
naterna'in'Arme ima	In chase of the great ones, the black ones,
haja'ja — haja	
aune'le qagliuñ'narnaŋa	Over the open plain —
ubla'jahunrapkit	Hayaija — haija
puigin'Arnagit	What matter though it seemed
Erqajuñ'Arhin'Arpak'a	As if I should never get near them . .
herquit'Ar'lorapkit	With all my strength I ran after them,
qernertörzuit	Not content to have them
aujiviñ'ne avane	Within sight alone,
ja' ja aja' ja	I thought only of them.
ja aja aje'	And then I shot them,
	The great ones, the black ones,
	Far away on the summer hunting grounds.
	Yaya, yaiye
	Ya — aya aye.

Igjugârjuk's own freer version of the same.

Yai — yai — yai
 Ya — ayai — ya.
 I ran with all my strength
 And reached them on the plain —
 The great musk ox with glossy black hair
 Hayai — ya — haya.
 It was the first time I saw them,
 Munching the flowers of the plain,
 Far from the hill where I stood,
 And ignorantly I thought
 They were but small and slight . . .
 But they grew up from the ground
 As I approached within range,
 Great, black, giant beasts
 Far from any village
 In the lands of our happy summer hunting.

Igjugârjuk's song of the caribou hunting.

haja'ja haja'ja
 tōra'ta'n'arpa'ña
 nōraligârzu'p
 taheṛqap hina'ne
 ja'ja ja ija ja
 aja'ja
 ija jiia ija
 haniwaṇ'itiblarapkit
 naṇertarwian'it
 ja'ja aja'ja
 ija jiia ija
 neqigjârzihuṇa'rapkit
 ilak'ale
 akharnerup hina'ne
 aja'ja aja'
 ija'ja ija
 tōra'ta'n'armaṇ'ale
 nākjulikzu'p
 taheṛqap hina'ne
 haniwaṇ'itiblarapko
 naṇertarwian'it
 aja'ja ja
 aja'ja aje'

Hayai — ya, hayai — ya,
 It came right in my way,
 The caribou cow with its calf,
 Near the margin of a lake.
 Yai ya ya — iya ya
 Ayai — ya
 Iya — yi — ya — iya
 My doing it was that they never again
 Went a-wandering,
 From the spot where they stood
 grazing.

Yai — ya, ayai ya
 Iya — yi — ya — iya.
 And thus I managed to get meat
 For my family on the shore of Ak-
 harneq (Chesterfield Inlet)
 Ayaiya ayai
 Iyai — ya iya.
 So also came right in my way
 The bull with the mighty antlers
 By the margin of a lake.
 My doing it was that it never again
 Went a-wandering
 From the spot where it stood grazing
 Ayai — ya — aya
 Ayai — ya — aye.

Avane's song.

pam'a'ja ija'ja ajaja
 pamuṇa ja aja ja
 hunalikiṇq nunamile
 takujumagaluarpa'k
 pamuṇa' aja'ja
 jaje' ja
 ajai ja ja
 ajai ja
 ija
 aja jaje'ja
 aja'ja ijaje'ja
 jaja' aje'
 aja'
 aune'le takujun'aq
 naṇa'ma' ameralik
 puzigartihuṇa'riga
 pamuṇa' aja'ja
 jaje'ja

Up toward the east
 Aya — ya-ayaya
 Up toward the east
 What is it of that which is found on
 earth
 That I would so gladly see.
 Up toward the east, ayaiya
 Ayai — ya — ya
 Yaya aye. (etc.)
 But what matter that it is now I who
 am
 Unable to track down the game,
 I, that once, standing erect, without
 aiming
 Could send a young bull crashing
 headlong to the ground.
 Up toward the east,
 Ayai — ya — ya
 Yaya aye.

Avane's freer version of the same:

Alas, I spy and search about,
 Impatient, full of eagerness,
 After caribou among the hills.
 Am I grown dull and old
 Since I now hunt in vain?
 I, that once could shoot
 With my bow and my arrow
 Standing erect, without aiming,
 So that a bull with broad-spreading tines
 Tumbled down dead from the hillside
 With its muzzle deep in the clay.

Ulivak's song of the caribou.

He is now grown old, and in his grief at having lost the agility of his youth, he feels inclined to weep, but sings this song instead:

Ulivak's happy reminiscences of caribou.

pam'aija pam'aija	Pámaiya — pámaiya
ajaija ajaija	Ayaiya — ayaiya
aja' ja' ja	Ayayaya
jaje'ja	Yayeya
ija ja ja'	Eye — aya
ije' aja'	Call to mind the first coming of
uze'm'a upernala'rtume	spring,
ima	So that
uvañale tuñerparniarzimawik	It really was I
pam'aija aja ja'	Who came slowly, slowly in to land
jaje' ja	(here understood: towing many
aja ja' jaje'ja aja'	heavy caribou with my kayak)
ja ija ja ja'	Pámaiya aya—yá
aja' aje'	Yayeya
mak'uale erqai'niagin'arik'a	Ayaya yayeya aya
nunamile qaklerarzimani'in'ama	Ya eya ya ya
pam'aija aja'ja	Aya ayê
ja je' ja	And all this (i. e. my achievements
aja' ja	in the days of my youth)
jaje' ja	I love best to think of (here under-
aja' ja ija'	stood: when I was an expert in
ja ja'	hunting caribou from the kayak.)
aja aje'	
	For on land I was never
	Fortunate in approaching (i. e. the
	herds of the caribou.)

Pámaiya aya — ya
 Ya ye ya
 Ayaya
 Ya ye ya
 Ayê — yâ aya
 Ya — yâ
 Aye — ayê.

Rendered according to his freer version:

I call to mind
 And think of the early coming of spring
 As I knew it
 In my younger days.
 Was I ever such a hunter!
 Was it myself indeed?
 For I see
 And recall in memory a man in a kayak;
 Slowly he toils along in toward the shores of the lake,
 With many spear-slain caribou in tow.
 Happiest am I
 In my memories of hunting in kayak.
 On land, I was never of great renown
 Among the herds of caribou.
 And an old man, seeking strength in his youth
 Loves most to think of the deeds
 Whereby he gained renown.

— — —

The women but rarely sing their own songs, as it is generally considered that no woman should compose the text of a song without being specially invited to do so by a shaman. They content themselves, therefore, as a rule, with singing their husbands' songs. But in cases where a spirit, or a shaman, has urged a woman to sing something emanating from her own inner feelings, she may freely step out from the ranks of the chorus and follow her inspiration. At the village near Hikoligjuaq there were only two women thus selected by the spirits. One was Akjârtoq, the aged mother of Igjugârjuk's wife, the other was Kibkârjuk his oldest and first wife. It is said that a woman whom the spirits allow to sing, will have a long life.



Kiguhināq, famous caribou hunter, full-face and profile.

Akjârtoq's song of the olden days.

qam'a'ja'ja
 anrumiwalerpin
 uvaŋa — le'ma
 anrumiwalerpin
 qam'a'ja'ja aja'ja aja
 qam'a'ja qam'a'ja'
 qamuŋa' ja aja' aje'
 ahiarmiutle
 pita'tle'ma
 tuharpalerapkit
 anrumiwalerpin
 qam'a'ja'ja aja'ja
 aja qam'a'ja
 qam'a'ja
 pavuŋa'ja aja haje' aja
 aune'le uva
 anrumiwatlerma
 piŋajôrhuitle
 tizahuŋaripka
 qam'a'ja'ja
 aja'ja' aja
 qama'ja' qamunga'ja
 aja aje'
 zheqiner'le majuartitlugo
 piŋajôrhuitle
 tizahuŋaripka
 qam'a'ja
 anrumiwaler'larma
 aja aje'

I call forth the song . . .
 I draw a deep breath . . .
 My breast breathes heavily
 As I call forth the song.

 I hear of distant villages
 And their miserable catch
 And draw a deep breath . . .
 As I call forth the song
 — From above —
 Aya — hayê
 Ayia.
 I forget altogether
 The heavy breathing of my breast
 When I call to mind the olden days
 When I had strength enough
 To cut up mighty caribou bulls.
 I call forth the song
 Ayaya — aya
 I call forth the song,
 I call forth the song
 Aya — ayâ.
 Three great caribou bulls I could cut
 up
 — And have the clean meat all laid
 out to dry —
 While the sun was on his upward
 way

 Across the sky
 A song I call forth
 As I draw a deep breath
 Aya aye.

Kibkârjuk's song of herself.

qamuŋa'ja ja ja
 piŋâŋavakzin'artuŋa
 piŋâŋavakzin'artuŋa'
 piŋâkzan'ut tama'inut
 qamuŋa'ja ja ja
 ija je' ja
 ija' aja aje'
 aja'
 aune'le
 piŋâŋavakziniklarma
 erita'tariga
 amarârzu'p
 kaki'wiaŋa
 qamuŋa' jaje' ja

Ready and willing, eager for work,
 — Away up inland —
 I am always gladly at hand
 Whatever needs to be done.
 And all the same
 In my eagerness for some task,
 I plucked (as one plucks the feathers
 of a bird)
 The great wolf's upper lip (for
 bristles).

qam' a'ja aje' aja
 a're'uŋnaŋ'ip'ak'ak'o
 nunamile' pihukluŋa'
 erita'teriga
 amarɔrzu'p
 kak'iwiaŋa
 qamuŋa' jaje' jija
 qam'a'ja aje' aja
 aune'le
 eriŋnarnago
 eriniaklariga
 amarɔrzu'p
 taplɔrzuana
 jaje'ja
 qam' a'ja aje' aja

(Kibkârjuk here gives a double image; she has to gather moss and dry twigs for fuel, and indicates this by saying that she "plucks" the earth, in the same way as one would pluck a bird or tear the bristles from a wolf's upper lip).

Otherwise, I am not one of those
 who can

Wear holes in my footgear
 By wanderings
 Over the land.
 Nevertheless I pluck the bristles
 Of the great wolf's upper lip,
 And all the same
 And without being able to wear holes
 in my footgear

(i. e. without wishing to boast that
 I am so busy at my household
 tasks and so untiring a walker that
 I wear through my soles)

Yet I do it all the same
 When I am out plucking
 The great wolf's beard

(i. e. when I go off up inland, far
 from the village, gathering dwarf
 willow for fuel).

— — —

In comparing the willow (*salix*) she is about to pluck with the beard of the big wolf, Kibkârjuk here uses a circumlocution that is of double effect; for the "big wolf" is also the name of her husband's "song-cousin"; every time she names him it pleases her husband.

*Kibkârjuk calls to mind the times when she was her husband's
 favourite wife, and was allowed to hunt caribou herself.*

qamuŋa' ija jija
 alianaq — raluarpa
 aviŋneruŋnaŋ'icuŋa
 uŋati'niit
 pinarzivāk — kaluartaq
 qamuŋa' ja
 ija je' ja'
 ja' je' ja
 aja'ja aja'ja'
 ija'ja

Away up inland (i. e. do my thoughts
 travel)

Iya — yi — ya
 Mournful it is
 That I never more shall move
 From my place on the bench,
 For I can still feel the wish to go
 wandering

Away up inland . . .
 Iya — yê — yâ

qamuŋa'ja
 ija je' ja
 ija aja' aje' aja'
 aje'himalerpāk'apkit
 neqin—mak'ua neīzu'tiwnut
 aviŋneruŋnaŋ'icuŋa
 uŋa'—ti'nit
 pīnarzivāk—kaluarts'q
 qamuŋa'ja ija je'ja
 ija' aja' aje' aja'
 u'ne'tle uwa'
 aviŋneruŋna'rnaŋa
 zherqartita'—tlaripka
 nākzulikjuarlo
 ma'na
 nukatuarzuk man'a
 un'u'kātlartume hila'
 qamuŋa' ja ija je' ja
 ija je' ja
 qamuŋa' ja jija' ja
 ija' aja' aje'
 puigin'arnagin'—mak'ua
 itqahuŋarzin'arpak'a
 kiŋuglihuŋartlārpackit
 nōraliqa'rzun'ik
 nuna man'a
 apijume
 qamuŋa' ja ija je' ja
 aja'ja aja'ja
 ija ja ija'
 qamuŋa'ja ija jaija

Yai — yê — ya
 Ayai — ya — ayai — yâ
 Iya — ya
 Away up inland ...
 Iya — ye — ya
 Iyâ — aya — ayê — ayâ
 My thoughts play ever with something
 that seems
 Like the flesh of beasts
 And yet I shall never move again
 From my place on the bench,
 Though I feel the old wish to go out
 and away
 Up inland
 Iya — yê — ya
 Iyâ — aiya aiyê aiyâ.
 It is I who am here —
 Never again to go out with the rest —
 And yet it was I that shot
 Both the old bull with the wide-
 spreading antlers
 And the young bull, as well,
 Once on a time
 When the twilight of the heavens
 Lay over the land.
 Away up inland
 Iya — yê — ya
 Iya — yê — yâ
 Away up inland
 Ayâ — aiya — aiyê
 All this I cannot forget,
 All this I think of ...
 From that hunting, when I added to
 my gains
 A caribou cow with its calf,
 While the earth
 Turned white with snow.
 Away up inland,
 Ya — iya — ye — ya
 Ayai — ya ayi — yâ
 Iya — ya iya
 Away up inland.

In addition to the ordinary hunting songs and lyrics there are also the songs of derision, or satires, mercilessly exposing the faults and vices of the village. Two men thus engaging in a duel of abuse show up each other's shortcomings without the least compunction. Acts of cruelty in particular, or infidelity, or immoral conduct, whereby is understood incest or sexual intercourse with animals, are subjects

dealt with in the presence of all mutual friends, at times accompanied by a bout of fisticuffs. Strangely enough, such revelations are always taken very coolly, whereas angry or malicious words can otherwise produce the most far-reaching effects.

Kanaihuaq derides Utahânia:

I.

ubva hajaija
 ho'kiaq ukua
 hejutik'a ukua
 am'arqutlalerpa'k
 kin'aitle qa'qane
 tuhavialer'lr'ramik
 igluhama ila'nik
 piciartumikle ima:
 hejutik'a am'arqutlalerpa'k
 kin'aitle qa'qane
 tuhawialer'lr'manik
 un'erumalerivara
 inuitle tamarmikle
 ilâtqusiât
 mi'jiveqartutit
 utahania
 kikluve't ihuata
 qula'ne akiane
 igamile iharhita'iliga'ne
 nuliarta'rpit unata' man'a
 iti'nerme'm'a
 ukiorjuarme
 aja'ja'ja
 ja'ja'ja'
 qanukiaq una
 qazjip iluane
 qabluruble una
 niptaruma'rp'a
 ubva ja'ja'

Ah, there you are, hayaiya —
 Now what can it be
 That strikes upon my opened ears?
 Up on top of a hill
 I heard
 One of my cousins
 Make up this song,
 Make up a song that ran thus:
 It strikes upon my opened ears
 Up on top of a hill:
 Something I heard,
 I should now like to tell
 Everyone else ...
 That little habit of yours:
 A hiding place for meat,
 Utahânia —
 Far up by the end
 Of the cooking place in the passage
 way of the house,
 So that your dear wife's
 Food place by the lamp
 Never was greasy with meat
 At Itivneq
 (i. e. he starves his wife but feeds
 luxuriously himself).
 And that was in the depth of the
 great winter
 Ayaiyai — ya
 Yaiyaiya
 Eyayè — hayai — ya
 Now I wonder how
 This song will be received
 In our feasting house?
 Ufva yai — ya
 — — —

II.

uvaṇa ja'ja
 ho'kiartle una
 un'ERumalervit
 uṇa'quamit
 tuhaṇara
 uvaṇa haja'ja
 uvaṇa haja'ja
 uvaṇa aje'ja aje' aja'
 un'ERumalervit
 kuja'jatlarnEraptik
 utahania
 aṇakpitle' ikju'ble
 nuka'ta paniṇ'aja'q
 kiklina'kamigə'q
 upernāklartume
 uvaṇa haja'ja aje'
 uvaṇa haja'ja aje'
 uvaṇa haja'ja aja'
 kuja'jatlarnEraptik
 qanəq ukuāk
 paniṇ'aja'q abla'git
 kapiga'ne sitiṇnerpa'k
 uvaṇa aja' ja' ja
 aja' uvaṇa.

Here I am, yai — ya
 How can it be that I want to say
 something,
 Something I heard from Ungānguaq
 I — — hayaiya,
 I — — hayaiya,
 I — — — ayēya — ayâ.
 I feel I must tell how
 You went a-whoring together.
 Yes you, Utahānia,
 And your uncle Igjuk's
 Younger sister Paningajâq
 At Kidlinaugaq
 Just at the coming of the great
 springtime.

I — hayaiya — ayai
 I — hayaiya — ayai
 I — hayaiya — aya.
 Yes you have been a-whoring, you
 two.
 What do you say, dear kinswoman,
 Paningajâq,
 Spread your legs nice and wide!
 Was she hard when you stuck into
 her?

I — aya — yai — ya
 Aya — II.

III.

ima'ja'
 ajərpātłərapko
 qarłə'rariluk
 hivitunarpik
 haja' ja' ja ja
 ja' ja ja ja
 aja' ja aja
 naja'nut ima
 ihumavaguheq
 inuin'arnitle'
 tuha'lerapko
 kaṇ'unar'łəriva
 ima'ja haja' ja ja
 ija aja
 eja jija
 naja'nut ima
 ihumuicəq

Imaiya —
 I am not much good at this sort of
 thing.
 Do I make too long a song of it?
 Hayai — yai — yai — ya
 Ayai — ya — aya.
 It was his sister that he wanted,
 So I heard
 People say.
 Well, he ought to be ashamed of
 himself!
 Imaya — hayai — ya — ya,
 Iya — aiya
 Eya — yi — ya . . .
 Do you think I would make up a
 song of lies,
 All lies, about one
 Who never cast looks of longing

haglotigilugo
 iw̃qerumagama
 kaŋ'unar'loriva
 ima ja ja ja ja
 haja'ja ja ja ija ja'ja
 ima ja ja ija
 utahaniag'o'q
 naja'ŋo'r'le
 qahatloaq imna
 qa'r̃qatlarit
 kujagumablugo
 huniarpit ima
 aperim'atin'o'q
 kaŋ'ut'itutiŋ'o'q
 ijoriŋ'ar'lutit
 iw̃qerajarpit
 ima haja'ja haja'ja
 haja'ja
 haja'ja'ja'ja

Towards his own little sister?
 He ought to be ashamed of himself!
 Ima — ya — ya — ya — ya
 Hayai — ya — ya — ya — eya —
 yâ-ya,

Ima — ya — ya — eya . . .
 It is said that you, Utahânia.
 Came stealthily creeping
 In to your little sister
 Qahâtlovaq
 To go a-whoring with her!
 And then, when she asked you
 "What is it you want?"
 You looked rather foolish, did you
 not?

And so to deride you,
 I sing this song
 Ima — hayai — ya, ha — ya — ya,
 Hayai — ya,
 Hayai — ya, ya, ya.

tuhartujâtłarpigo
 Utahania
 pinahuktəq
 ukiume aja'ja ja
 aja
 ilätluaguweruata
 qar'liz'ân'o'q katerfufât
 aja'ja'ja ja ja'ja
 aja
 pa'rmanajâtłartut
 erni'fâtlo nuliarta't
 katâk'ân'e
 initigut maliktug'o'q
 aja' ja ja ja ija ja' ja ija
 ava'gif'aniŋ'in'ân'e
 tamuan'ik tamaganik
 hujuglualar̃nertutit
 aja'ja ja ija ja' ja
 aja ja' aja

IV.

I heard it said
 That Utahânia
 Went out hunting
 In the winter
 Ayai — ya — ya — aya.
 It was at that season when the
 caribou are scarce,
 At any rate, the sort whose skins are
 used for breeches.
 Ayai — ya — ya, ya — yai ya
 Aiya.
 And your stepson and your dear wife
 Had to go creeping
 When you left them behind
 (i. e. deserted them, leaving them
 to starve to death)
 But they came up with your sledge
 tracks all the same.
 Ayaiya — ya — ya
 Eya — yai ya eya.
 For you never had any food to give
 them,

Every mouthful
 Was snapped up by you first . . .
 Eya — ya — ya
 Eya — ya — aya.



The shaman *Igjugårjuk*, chief of the *Hikoligjuarmiut*.

Utahânia's song deriding Kanaihuaq.

I.

aja ^a aja ^a aja ^a aja ^a	Ayáyáyá — ayáyáyá
aja ^a	Ayâ
tuhâ ^a rpâklialerpuna	I heard about it
inuñnitle	From other people,
tuhâ ^a rpâklialerpuna	I heard it said . . .
aja ^a aja ^a	Aya yai-ya.
aja ^a ja ^a aja	Ayaiya — aya.
tuhâ ^a rpâklialerpuna	I heard something said
arkhâ ^a tarinermak ^a ho	About how man and wife
tanu ^a jar ^a le	Had come to blows
nuliare ^a kle	In the matter of their son Tanûjaq.
tusa ^a mazera ^a na	I heard about that.
alikuiklar ^a lugo	The wife tore his clothes to rags
qijalitlarhin ^a armago	And he blubbered and wept . . .
nulian ^a a ^a at—una	While she jumped into a boat
umikzamuñ ikigavit	(i. e. and went off with the boy).
pina ^a lutariqavne	
akjaktitle	You were not very keen
tikluñiticiñuwane	To put up your fists
igneritle	For a bout with me
no ^a vuane	That time at Ignerrits Ness.
qanôq—im ^a a uhôrnarpa ^a	But what are we to say about it?
ajaja ^a ajaja ^a aja ^a	Is a man like that one to be envied?
ho ^a kiaq-una kan ^a luk	Could anyone really
tuhugigin ^a arivigo	Envy the fate
ajaja ^a ja ^a ija ^a je ^a ja	Of Kanaihuaq?
— — — — —	

This song, which in reality is only effective in its scorn when supported by a chorus and the usual accessories, does not give here any very strong impression of the biting sarcasm which lies in the description of how a husband came to blows with his wife about their boy, and how the wife, after having thrashed her husband soundly, gained a complete victory, carrying off their son herself. The terseness of the expressions used, which require an explanatory rendering, and all the local detail understood, as familiar to the listeners, render the text incoherent as it stands. Here also I have, in collaboration with Utahânia, endeavoured to give a free reproduction of the first part of the song, as better expressing the spirit and ready wit of the song of derision:

There were rumours	And what was it gossip related?
Of two people,	The wife, who in honest anger
Husband and wife,	Tore up her husband's fur coat,
Who had a bit of a turn-up together.	Takes the canoe

VI.

Myths and folk tales of the Pâdlermiut.*)

Views of nature.

The land of heaven.

Heaven is a great land. In that land there are many holes. These holes we call stars. In the land of heaven lives pan'a (the woman up there) or tap'azuma inua (the one that rules over, or owns, what is up there). There is a mighty spirit, and the aṇatkut hold that it is a woman. To her pass the souls of the dead. And sometimes, when many die, there are many people up there. When anything is spilt up there, it pours out through the stars and becomes rain or snow. The souls of the dead are re-born in the dwellings of pan'a, and brought down to earth again by the moon. When the moon is absent, and cannot be seen in the sky, it is because it is busy helping pan'a by bringing souls to earth. Some become human beings once more, others become animals, all manner of beasts. And so life goes on without end (ihᓃqaṇ'it'ᓃq).

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The sun and the moon.

There were once a brother and sister who lived together as man and wife. This they did secretly, lying together only when none could see. But then it happened that they were surprised. People came and found them lying together. And at this they were so overwhelmed with shame that they rose up from the earth, rose up into the sky. It was winter, and it was dark, and both carried torches. The moon was moving very rapidly, because he was a man (aṇuta'uᑭame naḱer-

*) These stories are common to all the Caribou Eskimos.

tørjuag, nakertøq: swift, with speed); so rapidly did he rush up into the sky that his torch went out, but the sun rose up slowly because she was a woman, and her torch did not go out. Therefore the sun gives out both light and heat, while the moon gives only light from the embers of the torch, and gives no heat. Thus the moon and the sun came up into the sky.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(G.) *)

The brother and sister that became thunder and lightning.

In the earliest times there was no such thing as stealing. There were no thieves among mankind; but then one day it happened during a song festival, that a brother and sister were left alone in a house, and here they found a caribou skin with the hair off, and a firestone. These they stole, but hardly had they stolen them when a great fear of their fellows came upon them.

"What shall we do to get away from everyone?" said one.

"Let us turn into caribou," said the other.

"Then people will kill us."

"Let us turn into wolves."

"Then people will kill us."

"Let us turn into foxes."

And so they went through all animals in turn, and always they were afraid people would kill them. But then one said:

"Let us turn into thunder and lightning, and then people will not be able to catch us."

And so they turned into thunder and lightning and went up into the sky. When there is thunder and lightning now, it is because one of them rattles the dry caribou skin, while the other strikes sparks from the firestone.

Told by
Arnarqik.
(G.)

The akla, that turned into fog.

There was once an akla, a land bear, that lived in human form. It used to go down to the dwellings of men and steal away dead bodies, and sometimes it would also take live human beings. And then one day a man pretended to be dead and laid himself down in a grave. The akla came and stole him away and carried him home with him.

*) (G.) indicates: known in Greenland too.



Above: *Atqâralâq* displaying her face tattooing, of the pattern common among the *Pâdlermiut*. — Below: *Igjugârjuk* singing for us in his tent. The singer always stands erect in the middle of the floor while the chorus kneel round about him. Drawn by K. Birket-Smith.

The man was carried head downward, and every time they passed any bushes on the way, he grabbed hold of them, so the akla had to put forth all its strength to get along. The akla arrived at its house, and laid the man up on the side bench, head downward, to thaw. But the akla itself was now so tired that it at once lay down on the sleeping place to rest. "ata'k a'pap ijine u'wikipäk": "Father, the 'meat' is opening its eyes"! cried the akla's children. "u'wikligit! uvlume örpik'ät tigu'aklugit hanit'erivkarpa'ñ'a": "Well, let it open them. Today it grabbed hold of all the bushes we passed, so I had a hard job of it to get along."

But the man who had pretended to be a corpse now sprang up, took an axe, and killed the akla.

The akla's wife was out in the cooking place. And out there in the cooking place was a human skin, filled with human fat. The man cut a hole in the skin, so that the fat ran out, and the woman, anxious to save the fat, suffered herself to be delayed thereby. But soon she set off after him, and rapidly overtook him. When she was close up to him, he drew a line on the ground with his middle finger (mikilerqaminik titerlugo) and at once a great river sprang out from the ground, a great fiercely rushing river.

"qanörle ika'rpiuk": "How did you get over?" cried the akla's wife. "aluplugo ima'rlogo": "I swallowed it down and emptied it," cried the man.

Then the akla's wife lay down and drank and drank until she burst; and when she burst, all the water she had drunk rose up in a mist over the earth and became fog (täktugujukivöq; täkto: fog). And it is from her that the fog comes.

The river which the man caused to spring forth from the earth simply by a sign with his middle finger we call itjarnitAQ: the one from olden days. We usually cross it when on trading journeys to Kûgjuaq (Churchill). It is a river that seems to spring straight up out of the earth, and not from any lake. And so deep is it, and so powerful the current, that it is impassable when the snow begins to melt in spring.

Told by
Kibkâujuk
(G.)

When it became light.

In times long past, there was only darkness brooding over the earth; there was no light. And a woman said: "qa'huit'u'le: Let it be without dawn."

But a man who was fond of hunting said: "qaqät'arniartöq,

maqa¹tlune iluartaq": "Let the dawn come. It is good for one who is out hunting."

And afterwards it came about as the man had said.

Told by

Kibkârjuk.

(Variant in G.)

The time when men had only willow grouse to hunt.

Once, in the times long past, there was no sun. Darkness lay upon the earth, and men had no other game to hunt but nikza¹tut (willow grouse) and when out hunting, it was the custom to light one's forefinger and use it as a lantern when moving over the ground. Once a man had been out, and caught one bird. He had been on a hunting expedition, lighting his way with his first finger. His wife cut up the bird, and when the meat was to be divided, two children from a house near by came in to visit them, as children often do at meal times, and while the man and his wife devoured the bird, the children stood looking on, and the man said to his wife:

"nutArqät ipkua a¹tun¹ivlarivigit": "Are you not going to give the children anything to eat?"

His wife answered:

"ima¹na¹"kua itina¹nik a¹fakit¹ake¹q qup¹akit¹ake¹q": "I have cut the foot of the bird in two and given them half each."

This happened in the times when men used their first fingers as lanterns. And so sparing were they of meat in those days.

Told by

Igjugârjuk.

In the olden days.

In the olden days, things were very different from what they are now. Everything had a soul, everything was more alive. When a caribou had been eaten, the meat grew again on the bones. Only one had to be careful not to crush or break any of the bones.

There were no sledges in those days. The houses were alive, and could be moved with everything in them, and the people as well, from one place to another. They rose up with a rushing noise into the air and flew to the spot where the people wanted to go. In those days also, newly drifted snow would burn.

There was life in all things. Snow shovels could go about by themselves, could move from one place to another without having to be carried. This is why we now, when in solitary places, never dare to stick a snow shovel into the snow. We are afraid lest it should come



Group of *Harvaqtórmint*. The old couple on the extreme right are my story-tellers *Aqikhivik* and *Arnarqik*. The young people are very embarrassed, standing with their fingers in their mouths.

alive and go off on its own. So we always lay snow shovels down in the snow, so that they do not stand up.

Thus all things were alive in the olden days.

Told by
Aqikhivik
(Variant in G.)

When houses could be moved.

In the olden days, people could move their houses. All that was needed was just to wish wherever one wanted to go. Then the whole house went off through the air with everything in it. But then one day someone complained that the noise of the houses rushing through the air was painful to the ears, and after that houses lost the power of travelling through the air.

Told by
Kibkârijuk.
(G.)

Beast fables.

When the caribou were first made.

Once upon a time there were no caribou on the earth. But then there was a man who wished for caribou, and he cut a great hole deep into the ground, and up through this hole came caribou, many caribou. The caribou came pouring out, till the earth was almost covered with them. And when the man thought there were caribou enough for mankind, he closed up the hole again. Thus the caribou came up on earth.

Told by
Kibkârijuk.
(G.)

The owl and the marmot.

An owl was once out hunting, and managed to get a marmot in its hole and bar the way out. Then cried the owl: "nerjuthapigiga qamutiniḱ malruiniḱ ak'ihijuk": "I have shut up a land beast in its hole. Bring two sledges to fetch it away."

The marmot answered from its hole:

"a^wla'kan'Erti^wlutit hak'Ertuakan'alA'rit": "Do just spread your legs wide apart and let me see your mighty chest."

And when the marmot said that, the owl spread its legs wide apart, and the marmot cried:

“hakEr-una, hakEr-una”: “Oh, what a chest, oh, what a chest!”

And the owl strutted with pride, spread out its wings and stuck out its chest. But then the marmot slipped out between its legs and got away.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The polar bear and the owl that quarrelled.

There was once a polar bear that came roaming in over the land. On a plain it saw an owl, sitting quite still on its hummock on the look-out for lemmings. The bear cried to the owl:

“naŋeqäcialerpe’n?”: “Are you sitting there bolt upright as usual?”

The owl answered:

“pihəqäcialerpe’n ukpatilik mamiŋajunik”: “Are you tramping about as usual, you with your belly part hanging lower than your chest.”

The bear answered:

“hu^{wa}, hu^{wa}! ijilik ak’alaju’it’unik!”: “What do you think you are, beh? You with your round eyes rolling about.”

Just then the owl rose up to fly, and as it flew up, it called after the bear:

“aŋuluŋa! aŋuluŋa!”: “Now see if you can catch me.”

The bear answered: “utargan’a”: “Wait for me, wait for me!”

That is the way the bear and the owl talked together, as men remembered it.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The lemming’s song.

One cold winter’s day a little lemming came out from its cosy nest; it looked about, shivered at the cold, and said: *)

“na^rhuäciaq
queraritlörpa^r
ik’e^r
ik’e^r
a — aje”

“The sky’s round belly
Is clear without clouds.
It is cold, and I am shivering,
A — aye.”

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

*) The woman who told this explained that the song was composed in a special lemming language. The lemmings call the sky the rounded belly. And queraritlörpa^r is also a particular expression for clear, cold sky.



Ulik, young girl, full-face and profile.

The wolf cub that learned to run.

A she-wolf was trying to teach her cub to run.

"Wolf-cub, try to run. Let me see you run!"

And the wolf-cub tried to run, but it could not run fast.

"That is not the way to run. When you run, you must stretch your backbone and swing your body in a gallop with your legs out stiff."

And the wolf-cub did so.

"There, now that's right. Now you run fast enough to catch up with the caribou."

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

nân'uk umiṇmāklo ᓃqartuk: Dialogue between a polar bear and a musk ox.

nanᓃ: "qutlerqit tunumiṇnit piṇ'ujumina're'lerpa't."

Bear: "Those that live on the surface of the earth (i. e. human beings) are not difficult to strike down with a blow of one's paw, if only one can come at them from behind."

umiṇmāk: "qutlerqit unaṇminamut ihumata'riaqaṇ'i'wīlāt, huk'-ajunik maligtiglit ipera'janik hak'uvlit":

Musk ox: "It is not well to try one's strength against those that live on the surface of the earth, those who have the swift ones (i. e. dogs) to let loose upon us, and have weapons that can spring forth from their hands."

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

aḷjip pihia: The long-tailed duck sings to the ptarmigan.

aṇerlra'i ija

halᓇrqamun

ihumahuilaṇa

tubva'p hīna'

mahaktulermāt

ata pikuṇa'

inaṇqᓇraḷgiṇma

ukpatik'e'k qut'ip'āṇmane'k

qubkaruna' kiverqawaṇmāt

aṇutiṇe'tujuk takᓇra'itlarᓃq.

For the dry land

I am longing

Now that the edge of the solid ice

Is full of melting water.

You often urge me

To come up on dry land.

You with your hindquarters high

above ground,

You bird with the low-drooping

belly,

You man so handsome to look

upon.

The ptarmigan sings to the long-tailed duck.

You great long-tails
 That love to splash about
 Ducking down
 Into the wet water.
 You birds
 That hover in flight
 And never fly fast
 And straight ahead.
 Aye — iya.

The owl woos the snow-bunting.

A little snow-bunting (ama^uliq) is weeping because it has lost its husband. Then there came an owl and sang:

“u^uerajuit imna
 qilawaja^urun^uago
 iviqa^urju^uiklo
 ɔrpiga^urju^uiklo
 ha^urqu^utiliga^urjuk
 uvaqa kisima
 u^uwiqin^ua”

“Pray do not weep
 For that worthless husband,
 One that had only
 Weapons of grass to throw,
 And willow twigs.
 I alone
 Will be your husband.”

The snow-bunting answered:

“kiamē^u u^uwik^uumava^utit
 merqutu^uwalukpit
 qablotu^uwalukpit
 kana^uq^ua^ulla^u
 qa^uq^ut^uq^u
 pikub^ut^uq^u
 qu^uahixaq^u”

“Who would have you for a husband?
 You with the huge feathers all over
 your body,
 You with that great big beak,
 And those thick legs,
 And that high forehead,
 And that bulge at the back of your
 head,
 And that short neck.”

But the owl was angry at these words, and struck the snow-bunting on the back. And when the snow-bunting complained of the pain in its back, the owl cried:

“Arnäp-o^um^ua qatixane ikpigiglalērpagit ɔqaqapi^uuarlune”: “Look at that woman there, who can feel pains in her back in spite of having such a sharp tongue.”

Here ends this story.

Told by
 Kibkârjuk.
 (G.)

The wolf and the human thigh.

"amArō'q! huna kiŋmiarpiu'k uja'ra'p qa'ŋane?"

"inu'p quktōra"

"hō'rme a'tuja'rna'ŋ'ilarma?"

"ila mamarigapko e'gapko, quAq-magiAq-magiAq":

"Wolf, what is that you have in your mouth, you over there on that stone?"

"A human thigh".

"Why can you not give me a little piece of it?"

"Because I like it myself. I swallow the frozen meat and gnaw the bone."

Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(G.)

The song of the seal.

akluma hina'ne
uwiŋ-artuŋa
najagartuŋa
imeriartōrumajōre
qutliarjuit
aŋuta'ta
na'ulip'a'ŋa
ja! — ja — aje'

At the edge of my blowhole
I lie and laze,
Drowsily dozing.
But once,
When I went up to drink fresh water,
There came a man
One of those who live up above,
And stuck a harpoon into me.
Yai — ya — aye.

Atqâralâq.

The raven and the loon.

In the days when all birds were white, the raven and the loon agreed to draw patterns on each other's plumage. But when the raven had finished, the loon was so dissatisfied with its pattern, that it gathered up all its spittle and shot it out over the raven, turning it black all over. And since then, all ravens have been black. But the raven was so furious at this, that it fell upon the loon and battered it about the hips so that it could not walk. And that is why all loons walk so awkwardly.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(G.)

The owl that took a wife among the wild geese.

There was once an owl that took a wife from among the wild geese. But when the time came for the wild geese to fly away before the winter came, to other lands, the wild geese said:

"We shall come back again next year. You had better stay here in your own country and wait for us. You cannot paddle a kayak, and you would be drowned when you got tired. We have to fly across the great sea."

"I will go too," said the owl. "When they settle on the water to rest, I will keep hovering up above on outspread wings", (min'ale-ra¹p'ata ima'ne qula'ne putuja^ujatArpajuma'rtuṇa).

The owl would not take the advice of the wild geese, and so when they flew away in the autumn, it flew with them. It flew a long, long way, but when the wild geese wanted to rest, they settled on the water, while the owl hovered in the air above. But one day the owl was so tired that it could keep up no longer, and the wild geese had to sit close together in the water so that it could rest on them. But they soon got tired of this. And one day, when the owl wanted to rest as usual, they suddenly swam apart, so that the owl fell into the water.

"The water is coming right up to my armpits!" cried the owl. (unErhukjo'k'a tikiklaErit).

But the wild geese rose up and flew away.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(G.)

The owl that tried to catch two hares at once.

There was once an owl that had caught hold of two hares at once, one in each claw. But the hares struggled away to opposite sides, and the owl cried out: "qupiniartuṇa! qupiniartuṇa!": "I am splitting in the middle, I am splitting in the middle!"

The owl's wife answered: "qupina^utit a¹pa' hak'ushuk": "You will split in the middle; do be content to hold on to the one."

And the owl, who loved his wife, was pleased at her care for him, and let go one of the hares.

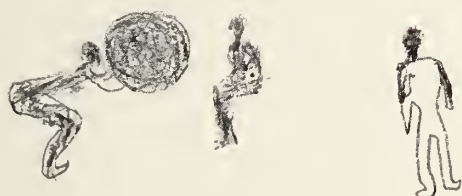
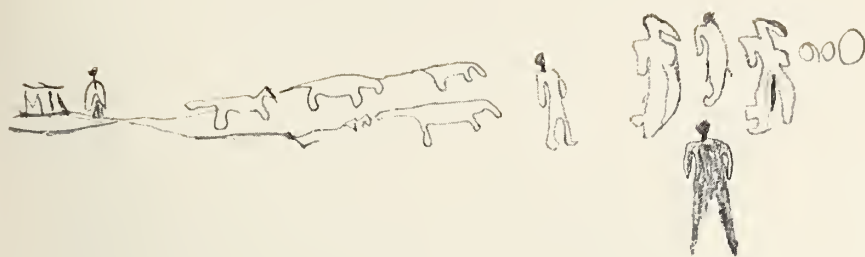
Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(Variant in G.)

The ravens and the gulls.

A number of ravens and gulls had once settled down together as neighbours, and they lived together and often invited one another to banquets. When the gulls invited guests to a feast, they would cry:

"Luscious salmon tails, luscious salmon tails!"

But when the ravens invited guests to a feast, they would cry:



The Caribou Eskimos were not masters in the art of drawing. Above is a reproduction of the arrival of a visitor's sledge, in the middle a song contest, and below a caribou hunt from kayaks at a crossing-place.

"Frozen dirt, lovely frozen dirt!"

But the gulls, that do not eat dirt, had to be content with carrying home their share to give to the dogs. This is what is told of the ravens and gulls, that lived in human form, and had dogs and dwelt in human dwellings.

Told by
Atqâralâq.
(G.)

The children that turned into willow grouse.

There was once a party of children, who played together, building up little benches of stone (iklêro'jartut). A woman was out gathering fuel, and she walked quite silently, trying not to make any noise whatever, so that the children should not be afraid when they heard her footsteps. But when she came close up to the children, suddenly she could no longer restrain herself. She clapped her hands to frighten the children, and they were so frightened that they grew wings and rose up from the ground and turned into nikja'tut (willow grouse) and flew away. But the people of the village went after them in vain but never caught them. All the nikja'tut come from those frightened children.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

Aningâpajúkâq, the father of the salmon.

There was once a man who went wandering in over the country, when he caught sight of a man who stood hacking at some wood. All the chips he struck off turned into salmon and swam out into a river. He stood by a river chipping at the wood. It was Aningâpajúkâq, the father of the salmon. And he was ugly to look at, with a uvula so big that it came far out of his mouth and hung down between his legs.

"From which side did you come towards me?" asked Aningâpajúkâq, threatening the man with his axe.

"I came from the side," answered the man.

"If you had come either from the front or from behind, I would have killed you with my axe," answered Aningâpajúkâq, for he was ashamed of his appearance.

Afterwards he was kind to the man and let one of his salmon ferry him across to the other side of the river.

That is what we have heard tell of Aningâpajúkâq.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(G.)

The talking caribou.

There was once a caribou that suddenly began to talk, when it came on its way to a crossing of a river. It cried out:

"Are there people over on the other side?"

Nobody answered, and it called out again:

"Is there anyone over on the other side?"

And when again there came no answer, the caribou said:

"There must be people over there all the same, only they do not answer."

But it swam out all the same to get to the other side, and just then a man came out in a kayak and went in chase of it. And when the man raised his spear to kill it, the caribou said:

"Do not stab me now, but wait until the autumn. If you will let me wait till then, your wife will get fine rich suet out of me."

And when the caribou said this, the man let it live and gave up the chase. But the caribou swam to shore unharmed, and said, as it clambered up:

"I am alive, because the man did not stab me."

Thus it lied, for it did not say why the man had spared it. And then it ran off inland.

Told by
Kibkârijuk.

The old woman who adopted a butterfly larva.

There was once an old woman who, unknown to her neighbours, had adopted a butterfly larva. When the others were asleep, the larva would suck at her breasts, and she sang fond little songs to it, just as if it had been a real child. But soon her neighbours found out about it. They heard someone sucking at her breasts in the night, but could not see what it was. And when all appeared to be asleep, they could also hear the old woman singing little pet songs, just as if she had a child.

One day, when the old woman had gone out to gather fuel, they searched through all her belongings, and there in her kamiks of caribou skin they found a great butterfly larva. And they killed it. But when the old woman came home and found her adopted child had been killed, she wept, and moaned: "tisje — tisje — ta¹ciara pivlata¹nArpa'n": „they have killed my dear little tisje — tisje — taitsiaq." She called it that because the larva used to utter a hissing sound when she petted it. And here ends this story.

Told by
Kibkârijuk.
(G.)

Among wolves and wolverines in human form.

There were once two men who went on a journey visiting. They set out and came to a place where there lived wolves and wolverines in human form. The wolves were having a great song festival, and so one of the men went into the snow hut belonging to the wolves, and the other into that of the wolverines. The man who went into the wolves' snow hut did not even have time to put his foot to the ground, for the moment his head appeared in the entrance, he was torn to pieces and eaten up so quickly that not one of his limbs ever touched the ground. The man who went into the wolverines' house found only a woman at home. Her husband and her grown-up son were at the song festival in the house of the wolves. The wolverine's wife received the man kindly, and he gave her his kamiks and asked her to make new soles for them. By way of payment he gave her his knife, and the woman showed him into the store-room of the house and told him to hide there, for if the wolves got scent of him, they would come and eat him up. And the man crept into the store room and found there many heads, both of human beings and of caribou. Later on, the wolverine's husband and son came in, when the song festival was at an end.

"There is a smell of human beings in here," said the father wolverine.

"There is a smell of human beings in here," said the son.

The wife answered:

"He asked me to make new soles for his kamiks, and gave me his knife for it."

"Make soles for his kamiks," said the old wolverine.

"Yes by all means make soles for his kamiks," said the son.

Now it was not long before some wolves came on a visit, and they sniffed about in the house and could smell the man, but they dared not break into the store-room.

When evening had come, the old wolverine went in to the man and said:

"To-night, when the wolves are asleep, you must make your escape, otherwise you will be eaten up; but before you start, you must cut the lashings of all their sledges, only cut them from the inside, not from the outside, so that they may not notice it."

In the night, when the wolves had fallen asleep, the man made his escape, doing as the old wolverine had said. But the wolverine, who was pleased with the knife the man had given in payment for his new soles, gave him a magic staff to take with him.

"If the wolves come in chase of you, all you have to do is to stick

this staff in the snow and place yourself behind it, then they will not hurt you," said the wolverine.

Then the man set off, but in his haste he failed to cut the lashings right through on two of the sledges, and as soon as the wolves got scent of him, they sprang to their sledges to go after him. But all the sledges collapsed except the two that had not been properly cut. It was not long before these wolves came up with the man, but he simply thrust the wolverine's staff into the snow and placed himself behind it. And lo! the wolves saw only the staff and not the man, and did as dogs generally do, they ran to the stick, lifted up one leg and made water and ran off again. But the man got safely home to his family and told what had happened to him.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

Ôlingûse.

There was once a wolf that came into a house and said:

"Ôlingûse stood up on the top of the hill and drew his bow, and Ôlingûse shot his arrow and hit a caribou."

And at once a wolverine came forth and brought its carrying straps, and lo, it was not long before it came into the cave again with great speed. And it flung in the upper part of the creature's body; and lo, all the little things, the lemmings and ermines, came up and nibbled at the meat and chewed suet with it, and when they had got a piece, they went back at once to their place on the bench and ate away at it.

This is something that has been borne in mind from the times when animals were just as often human beings as they were animals, and sometimes lived together, all kinds of animals, in one big house, which could suddenly turn into a cave or the lair of a beast.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The polar bears in the meat store.

Some men once set out to fetch in a store of meat they had some distance off, a store of blubber in bags. It was winter, and they came to the store, which was snowed up, and they sought about for it, sticking their snow-searchers down into the snow, but they always broke, and the men had to take new ones. Then the men discovered that the reason why their snow-searchers broke was that there was a bear in the store under the snow. When they struck the bear on the head, and it struck back again with its head, the snow-searcher broke.



Atqáralâq's amulet belt, which not only shields her from illness and other dangers but also enables her to break various taboo customs with impunity, for instance sewing the skin of the bearded seal. Besides ermine skins, ptarmigan and owl feet with the claws, the belt is composed of various kinds of insects sewn into small skin bags.

This happened a very long time ago, and we have remembered it because it was remarkable, and it is said that the men did not get the bear, and the bear ate up all their blubber, and the men had to return home with empty sledges.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The man that married a vixen.

There was once a man who lived up inland without any neighbours. He was a keen hunter, and then it came to pass that on coming home from his hunting he found his food already cooked in the house. There was always cooked meat ready for him when he came home. And so one day he stayed at home, but pretended to go out hunting as usual. He hid near the house, and kept a sharp look out towards it. He lay behind a stone, and then he discovered that a fox went to his house. It gathered willow twigs, which it laid down on the snow, and then laid skins on top to dry, skins of the animal, the man had killed, for it was spring now, and one could begin drying things in the sun. The fox often came out to look to the skins, at the same time spying eagerly all about. Once when the fox was inside the house, he ran over to his house without being seen and picked up her tunic, which lay outside the house. Just then the fox came out and began to cry.

"Give me my tunic, oh, give me back my skin".

The man said:

"Not until you promise to be my wife".

And the fox answered weeping:

"Well give me my skin and I will be your wife."

After that they became husband and wife and lived together and the man was very pleased with his new wife. Then one day a man and his wife came on his visit. They were wolves in human form, and when they had been there some time, the wolf wanted to change wives with the man for one night. The man resisted for some time, but as the wolf kept on asking him, he gave in at last, but said to the wolf:

"If you should happen to notice a strange smell about my wife to-night, be sure not to say anything about it."

The wolf promised, and they changed wives. In the evening, when the wolf went over to sleep in the other house, he carefully closed up the entrance with a block of snow, closed up all holes and then went to rest. But hardly had he gone to rest, when he said: "nake in̄'a hu'ik-jarnigpa' qalikjarnigpa'": "Where does this smell of fox come from, where does this foxy smell come from?"

"From me," said the fox and leapt out of the house through a little crack in the block of snow that had been used to close the hut. And

she fled away and came home to her earth. On the following day her husband went after, and following up her tracks, he noticed that they were real human tracks at first. Then suddenly one foot changed to that of a fox, and close to the hole where it lived, both feet were those of a fox. He followed the tracks until they disappeared into the earth. Then he tried to creep in through the passage to her, but it was too narrow, and he began calling out:

"Where is my wife, I want my wife back."

First of all a hare came out.

"I was told to say you were to take me for your wife."

"I will not have one with such a stumpy snout."

Then a wolf came out.

"I will not have one with such a long snout."

And so they came out, all the animals on earth: lemming and ermine and marmot and wolverine and all the rest. But the man would not have any of them. Then the man called to the wolverine and said:

"If you will dig out the entrance to the fox earth so that it is big enough for me to get in, I will pay you with meat from my meat stores."

And the wolverine dug out the entrance and the man got in. Inside, the fox earth was arranged just like a very big human dwelling, and there were many people in there.

"I want my wife back" said the man.

"You shall not have your wife back until you give us a blubber bag filled with blubber."

Then the man crept out of the hole again with the bladder of a caribou. This he filled with blubber, and when he had given that in payment, he got his wife back again. And afterwards they lived happily together.

Told by
Atqâralâq.
(G.)

The two little girls that played father and mother.

There were once two little girls who played father and mother. They built up small benches of stones and pretended they were real houses, and then they had to have a husband. One little girl went and took the shoulder blade of a whale and said: "The whale shall be my husband." But the other little girl went and took the leg of a falcon and said: "The falcon shall be my husband." But when they said this, the bones suddenly came alive. The whale's shoulder-blade became a real whale, that swam off into the sea with the little

girl, and lived with her on an island where it had its house. The whale loved its wife, and would never allow her to go out alone, and when she felt obliged to, and said "analerama": "I must go to stool," the whale said: "itimañnut anaq": "do it in my hand". And when she said: "quilerama": "I want to make water," the whale would say: "qan'an'ut qo'q": "do it in my mouth."

But this the girl would not do, and so when she went outside on such errands, the whale used to fasten a strap to her body, and when he thought she was staying outside too long, he would give a tug at the strap and so make sure she was still there. But when the ice began to melt, and people began to go out in their kayaks along the ice edge, the little girl wanted to escape to her home, and so one day when she went outside on the usual errand, she took her snow-beater (tilukto't) out with her, and sticking it into the ground, worked magic over it, fastening the strap to it with which she was usually tied herself, and she said:

"When the whale tugs at the line, you are to pretend you are me, and answer with my voice if he calls you."

And then the little girl ran out over the ice and met her brother, who was out in his kayak along the ice edge. Her brother put her in his kayak and rowed away with her towards their village. But it was not long before the whale suspected something was wrong, and came out and set off in chase. The brother rowed as hard as he could in towards land with his little sister, and when they saw the whale come swimming after them, they threw her tunic into the water. When the whale caught sight of the garment, it flung itself upon it in a fury and tore it to pieces before going any farther. And thus the kayak gained a little. After that the brother threw out kamiks and outer breeches, and every time the whale came up to her clothes, it stopped to tear them in pieces before going on. At last she had only her inner breeches left, and they had to throw these out as well. They were well made, and the skin was tough, and it took the whale such a long time to tear them in pieces that the brother reached land and managed to save his little sister. But the whale came so near to overtaking them that the wave it sent up in front of its head washed in over the kayak. Here end the words concerning the whale, (ta¹ma ɔqa^hhi'a inErivɔq).

The little girl who married a falcon was carried up to the top of a high cliff and laid in the falcon's nest (uvluminut i^wnamut tigjutiga). The falcon brought her lemmings to eat every day.

"Why do you never bring me any sinew thread" asked the girl one day.

And after she had said that, the falcon brought her some every

day. And the girl plaited the sinews together, for she wanted to get down to earth again (katagumaḅlune nunamun). And when she had made a line long enough to reach the ground, she lowered herself down one day when her husband was out hunting (u^wine maqaṭ'ṭṭṭ), now that she wished to go home to her own people, (inminut aihu leraime). And thus she came home to her family (ta¹ma aivṭṭṭ).

And then we know no more of that story.

Told by
Atqâralâq.
(G.)

The girl that played with walrus bones.

There was once a girl at Ârviaq (Sentry Island) who played with the bones of a walrus pretending it was her husband.

Then it happened that kayaks out at sea were pursued by a walrus, and no one could understand why the walrus kept coming after them. Then it was discovered that there was a girl in the village who played with walrus bones, pretending it was her husband. But the men threw the girl into the sea, out to the walrus, and when it had thus obtained its wife and its own way, it never again pursued the men who were out hunting.

Told by
Aqikhivik.

The loon that wept.

There was once a human being that burst out weeping in great grief, and would not be comforted, but kept on weeping, and at last died of grief.

A loon heard the human being weeping, and tried to imitate the sound, and it wept like a human being. Since then, the loon always utters its plaint like a human being, and when bad weather is coming, they cry so that it can be heard all over the country.

Told by
Aqikhivik.

Epic tales.

Kâvjäg-zuk.

There was once a homeless boy named Kâvjäg-zuk, a homeless boy with none to care for him. When Kâvjäg-zuk was out and tried to get into the house, there were always two girls who came up and



Above: Belt of female shaman and belt buttons. (See page 56: The shaman woman *Kinálík*). — Middle: Shaman's staff. (See page 60: *qilaneq*). — Below: Amulets, composed of a raven foot with the claws, insects sewn into small skin bags and two ermine skins.

hauled him in through the entrance hole of the house, sticking a salmon hook in each of his nostrils. Thus they ill-treated Kâvjägzuk. But Kâvjägzuk had an elder brother, who lived in another place, and one day the brother came on a visit, and when he began building a snow hut for the night, Kâvjägzuk came up to help him. But although it was winter, and cold, he had no mittens, but handed his brother the blocks of snow with his hands tucked up in his sleeves. No one cared for Kâvjägzuk, no one gave him proper clothes.

In the evening there was a song festival in the house where Kâvjägzuk lived. But the brother stayed behind with Kâvjägzuk in the little house he had built, and questioned him as to who it was that so ill-treated him, for his nostrils were all bloody. As soon as he learned the truth, he felt very sorry for Kâvjägzuk, and took out an ermine, that was his amulet, and brought it to life by magic. He spoke to it, and told it to kill everyone in the big house that had ill-treated Kâvjägzuk, except the two girls. He then turned the ermine loose down a hole that was used when people wanted to make water, and it ran into the big house and killed everyone there, slipping in through their breeches, and out through their sleeves. And thus it killed everyone in the great house, except the two girls. These two girls were to be Kâvjägzuk's wives, and the brother made a snow-beater for Kâvjägzuk, a snow-beater of walrus tusk, for him to thrash his wives with. Thus little Kâvjägzuk was avenged, and afterwards, when he grew big and married the two girls that had ill-treated him, he would sing whenever he felt inclined to thrash them. And the words that he sang (ᓕᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ) were these:

"kapitar'lua anila'rit
quliktar'lualo anila'rit
kâvjägzuk qinak'ik'ut
ka'vzubiuk."

"Bring out the tunic,
Bring out the tunic of caribou skin,
Lift Kâvjägzuk up
By his nostrils."

And then he would beat his wives, and they would cry out:

"The blood is pouring from our wooden hair ornament (tuklerut)"

Thus little Kâvjägzuk was avenged.

Told by

Kibkârjuk.

(Variant in G.)

Kivioq.

Kivioq had his dwelling on the island of Aivartôq, an island which can be seen from Ârviaq (Sentry Island), and is easily re-

cognised, because there is a great cairn built up on it, bigger than a tent.

One day when it was blowing a gale, Kivioq was carried out to sea on the ice, and when he came to land again, it was a strange land that his feet now trod. Here he met with an old woman and her daughter, and took the daughter to wife. One day when Kivioq was out hunting in his kayak, the old woman killed her daughter. She sat picking the girl's lice, and pierced through the drum of her ear, so that she died. Then she flayed off the skin from the girl's face and pulled it over her own head. Kivioq came home, with caribou in tow, and when she went out to meet him, he cried:

"Take off your kamiks and wade out into the water."

And when the old woman then took off her kamiks, Kivioq saw that she had the black wrinkled legs of an old hag. Kivioq now determined to get away from the place, and every time he went out in his kayak, he would hide away either his mittens or his kamiks, and saying he had lost them, get her to make him a new pair each time instead. But the old hag grew suspicious, and said:

"It seems as if you were thinking of leaving me, since your thoughts run crooked ways."

Kivioq answered:

"I will never leave you, because I am fond of you."

Then Kivioq fled away from her and travelled on again through the country, but as soon as the old hag discovered that he had fled, she worked magic and caused all manner of serious obstacles to rise up on his way. First he came upon two bears fighting. Every time he tried to take a step forward, they were always right in his way, but Kivioq slipped through their jaws and got away. Then he came to two hilltops, that kept on opening and closing by turns. And this in such wise that every time he tried to go forward, the pass between the two hills closed up. But just as they opened, Kivioq slipped through, but he came so near to being crushed by the rocks as they closed in after him, that the tail of his outer coat was cut off. Then Kivioq came to a cooking pot, that stood on the ground all a-boil. It was a very big pot, and there were no human beings to be seen, but every time Kivioq tried to go forward, the boiling pot was just in the very place where he would have set his foot. But Kivioq jumped up on to the edge of the pot, and balancing his way along the edge, he managed to get by. Then Kivioq came to a place where the road was barred by the lower part of a woman's body, a huge big underpart of a woman, that placed itself in front of him with legs wide apart every time he tried to get past. But Kivioq lay with the thing and got away after he had lain with it. Then Kivioq came to

some sealhide thongs stretched between tent poles, such as are used for exercising the muscles. These thongs placed themselves right in his way whenever he tried to get past, and the ground beneath them was all white with human bones, the bones of human beings that had tried to pass that way, but Kivioq clambered over and nimbly slipped away. Then Kivioq went on again and came to the house of an old woman with a tail made of iron. When he lay down to sleep, he placed a flat stone on his chest. The old woman could hardly conceal her delight when she saw him making ready to sleep. She sat there laughing all the time, and afterwards, when he pretended to fall asleep, she clambered up on to the sleeping place, jumped up in the air, and came down on top of him, so as to strike his chest with her iron tail. But the iron tail struck the stone, and was driven into the woman's inner parts, so that she gave a deep sigh and fell down dead. After that, Kivioq went on again, cruising along the shore in a kayak. At one place, he passed by a headland where there was a cairn, and this suddenly began to speak, and said:

"The kayak mussel is just about to cut you in two."

And when Kivioq looked round, he saw a huge mussel just about to cut his kayak in two, but he paddled as hard as he could, and the mussel only just managed to cut off the stern of the kayak, and Kivioq saw the creature go down to the bottom, gleaming white in the water. Kivioq then went on again, and finding now that he could recognise his own country, he sang for joy. But his old father and mother had been sitting on a stone by their village waiting for him ever since the day he was lost, and so long had they been sitting there that one can even now see the hollows worn away in the stone where they sat.

"That sounds as if it might be Kivioq's voice we can hear," said his mother.

And looking out over the sea, they caught sight of Kivioq, and so overjoyed were they at the sight that they fell backwards and died. So great was their joy that it killed them. And now we know no more of Kivioq.

Told by

Kibkârjuk.

(G.)

Ilimarajugjuk.

It is said that Ilimarajugjuk was wont to eat his children. He lived down by the sea, but one winter there were no seal; no bearded seal and no walrus, and then it was that Ilimarajugjuk began to eat his

children. His wife had to cook them for him, and it is said that she sat in front of her cooking pot, boiling her own children, with the tears running down her cheeks. And when the water began to boil, and the sinews in the flesh were drawn up and the little hands could be seen to clench in the boiling water, she wept all the more.

One day Ilimarajugjuk's wife went out to get fuel, while Ilimarajugjuk lay asleep on the bench. She took his outer coat and his tunic with her, and in order that he might not suspect anything wrong, she had filled her own tunic with twigs, stuffed it out and laid it on the bench, so that Ilimarajugjuk thought it was herself every time he looked that way. But he soon began to feel uneasy all the same, and then discovered that his wife had run away. He tried so set off in chase, covering his body with the rugs from the sleeping place. But it was midwinter, and cold, and so it was not long before he had to turn back. But his wife fled away to her brothers. Ilimarajugjuk made himself garments of caribou skin and went off after his wife, but he could not find her, and therefore went to the land where her brothers lived. Here he told a pitiful tale, saying they had all died of hunger, his wife and his children. He himself had barely managed to come through alive. And he stayed with his wife's brothers. Once, when a number of people were gathered together, a song festival was held, with various kinds of sports and games. Thongs were stretched out and used for exercises. Men were lashed by the arms to pieces of wood, and had then to try to break loose. Many burst the lashings, but others had to give it up. At last Ilimarajugjuk was bound in this way, with his arms tied behind him, and then they carried him out of the house and away into the country and began singing in derision:

"Ilimarajugjuk qit'ornaminik nEqilikjuk!": "Ilimarajugjuk eats his children!"

"kina piva?": "Who says so?"

"ta¹na nuliät a^udlä'rnerqəq pu^wlaligAq": "She, your wife PuvlalligAq escaped and came to us here".

And then many men carried Ilimarajugjuk away to a hill and stabbed him to death.

On the island of Qavardlia, down by the shore, not far from Ârviaq, is the grave of Ilimarajugjuk. We have all seen Ilimarajugjuk's grave at Qavardlia, and his sledge, a short sledge made of thin wood, with long crosspieces.

Told by

Igjugârjuk

(G.)

Meetings with strange tribes.

How the white men and the Indians first came.

There was once a girl who refused all the men who wished to marry her. At last her father was so annoyed with her that he went off with her to an island with his dog. He paddled away with her to the island of Anarnigtoq (the one that smells of dirt), an island that lies out in lake HÁningajôq, not far from Hikoligjuaq. The dog took the girl to wife, and they lived together on the island, and at last the woman had worn away all the skin from her elbows and knees, so often had she been forced to go down on all fours when the dog wanted to have its way with her. At last she grew pregnant, and brought forth a number of whelps. And the girl's father brought meat to the island, that they might not starve. One day, when the young ones were grown up, their mother spoke to them and said:

"Next time your grandfather comes over to the island, you are to swim out to him and upset his kayak".

The dogs did so, and the grandfather was drowned. Thus the girl took vengeance on her father for having forced her to marry a dog. But now that the grandfather was dead there was no one to bring meat for the dogs, so the girl cut off the soles of her kamiks (alane ahivarpai), and set them out in the water, and working magic over them, set some of the dogs on one sole, saying: "hana'gâfârhiôrpa-k'ilik": "be skilful in all manner of work you undertake".

And the dogs drifted out from the island, and when they had come a little way out in the lake, the sole turned into a ship, and they sailed away to the white men's land and turned into white men. And from them, it is said, all the white men came.

But the other dogs the girl placed in the other kamik sole, and letting them drift away from the island, she worked magic and said:

"akihartôrpa-k'iligjuk inu arajuglutik": "Avenge me on your grandfather, showing yourselves bloodthirsty as often as you meet with human beings."

And the kamik sole was washed ashore, and the dogs wandered off up country and turned into Itqitlit. From them come all the Indians.

Told by

Igjugârjuk

(G.)

Mavaranâq.

There was once a girl named Mavaranâq. She had been adopted by Indians, and did not live with her own people, the Eskimos. One day Mavaranâq said to the Indians:

"With this wind, all the men of our village will be out hunting. And you will find only the women at home. When the wind blows off shore, all the men are out hunting."

When the Indians heard this, they set off at once to the Eskimo village, and found only women in the place; all the men were out. They killed all the women save two, that had crept into an underground meat store, and lay so that the tails of their outer coats covered the entrance, and they could not be seen.

But when the husbands came home from their hunting, they found all their womenfolk murdered except the two women that had hidden in the meat store. From these two women, the men learned that it was Mavaranâq who had been telling tales, Mavaranâq who had said that in such weather, with the wind blowing off shore, all the men would be out and only the women at home. When the men heard this, they cried:

"But where is Mavaranâq, but where is our Mavaranâq?"

"Here I am, here I am," cried Mavaranâq.

And then they took Mavaranâq by the arms and ran off with her, crying:

"Now hurry off home with you to your beloved Indians!"

And as they said this, they hacked off both her arms, but she fled on and away towards the Indians' camp, with the blood pouring from the stumps of her arms.

Told by

Kibkârijuk.

(G.)

*Of the days when one could get white men's goods by murdering
Indians.*

There were once a man and his wife who had their dwelling all alone at Kîngarjualik, near Hikoligjuaq. For a whole winter they lived here, but then they grew weary of that lonely place, and moved to another part. But soon after they had moved, many people came to the place where they had lived before, and settled down there.

One day, these people discovered an Indian tent near by, and they attacked them while they were asleep and killed them every one, stabbing them to death through the skin of the tent. Afterwards they plundered the tent, and thus obtained possession of knives, nails, iron and many other costly things. This was in the days when only the Indians ever traded with the white men, and the only way we others could get white men's goods was by killing and despoiling the Indians.

It is said that when the man and his wife who had formerly lived in that place heard of the costly things the others had obtained, the

wife burst into tears out of envy. She wept for grief that she and her husband had not taken part in the killing of the Indians, and thus also had a share in the many fine things which the others now possessed.

In the following year, there came a great Indian canoe (qajariaq), fully manned with Indians out to avenge those who had been killed. But an old woman saw them, and this was a woman who had never in her life swallowed a single tiniest bit of sinew thread. She had therefore great power in her tongue, and she now cried out to Hila to cause all those Indians to perish. And at her words, the water suddenly washed in over the Indian canoe, and they perished every one.

One may still see, at Kíngarjualik, the skulls of the Indians who were murdered. But bushes and little trees have grown up over the spot, and many of the skulls are now right down in the soil.

Told by

Kibkârijuk.

The Indian is coming.

There was once an Indian who attacked a village where there were many children, and only one grown up woman at home. She placed herself in front of all the children, who kept in a long line behind her, and holding out her arms, she strove to protect them. But the Indian was too clever for her; he took the children one by one and stabbed them to death, and at last there were no more children left.

"It does not matter," said the woman, "I am not angry, I am not angry."

"I am very angry," cried the Indian. But at that the woman suddenly drew forth her curved knife and slashed him across the eyes, and he stumbled about blindly, crying:

"Who is it that has blinded me? Who is it that has blinded me?"

This happened once in days long past, and now it has become a game for children. The game is called "The Indian is coming", and the players form up in a line, one behind the other; the woman stands in front, and behind her are all the children, and the Indian tries to get hold of them.

Told by

Kibkârijuk.

The child that was sent out to take vengeance upon the Indians.

There was once a village where everyone was on the look-out for Indians. They wished to take vengeance upon them for all the

people they had killed, and they had chosen Angut, a boy whose parents had both been killed, to be the avenger.

One day they were out looking for Indians, and sure enough, they came in sight of a number of tents pitched near a river, at one of the places where the caribou swim across. They hid themselves, and waited until the Indians had gone to rest. One man remained on guard, carefully watching the Indians' camp. As soon as the camp had gone to rest, the man on guard told his comrades, and they went forth to the attack.

But the Indians had also a sentry on guard, an old woman who kept watch for them while they slept, and when she saw the Eskimos, she cried:

"The Eskimos are attacking us!"

All the Indians awoke and went out to meet the Eskimos, armed with bows and arrows. The Eskimos halted, and one of them began reciting magic songs. As soon as the man began his magic songs, all the Eskimos lay down on the ground. The Indians came up to the spot where they had been, but could not see them anywhere. The magic song had hidden them, and they turned the points of their weapons up in the air, having no one to aim at, and went back to their camp and laughed the old woman to scorn for having made a mistake.

When the Indians had gone to rest a second time, and this time without anyone on guard, the Eskimos set out once more, and tied a knife to the hand of the boy who was to take vengeance, and said to him:

"Go in and stab all the Indians; if anyone tries to hurt you, call out for help at once".

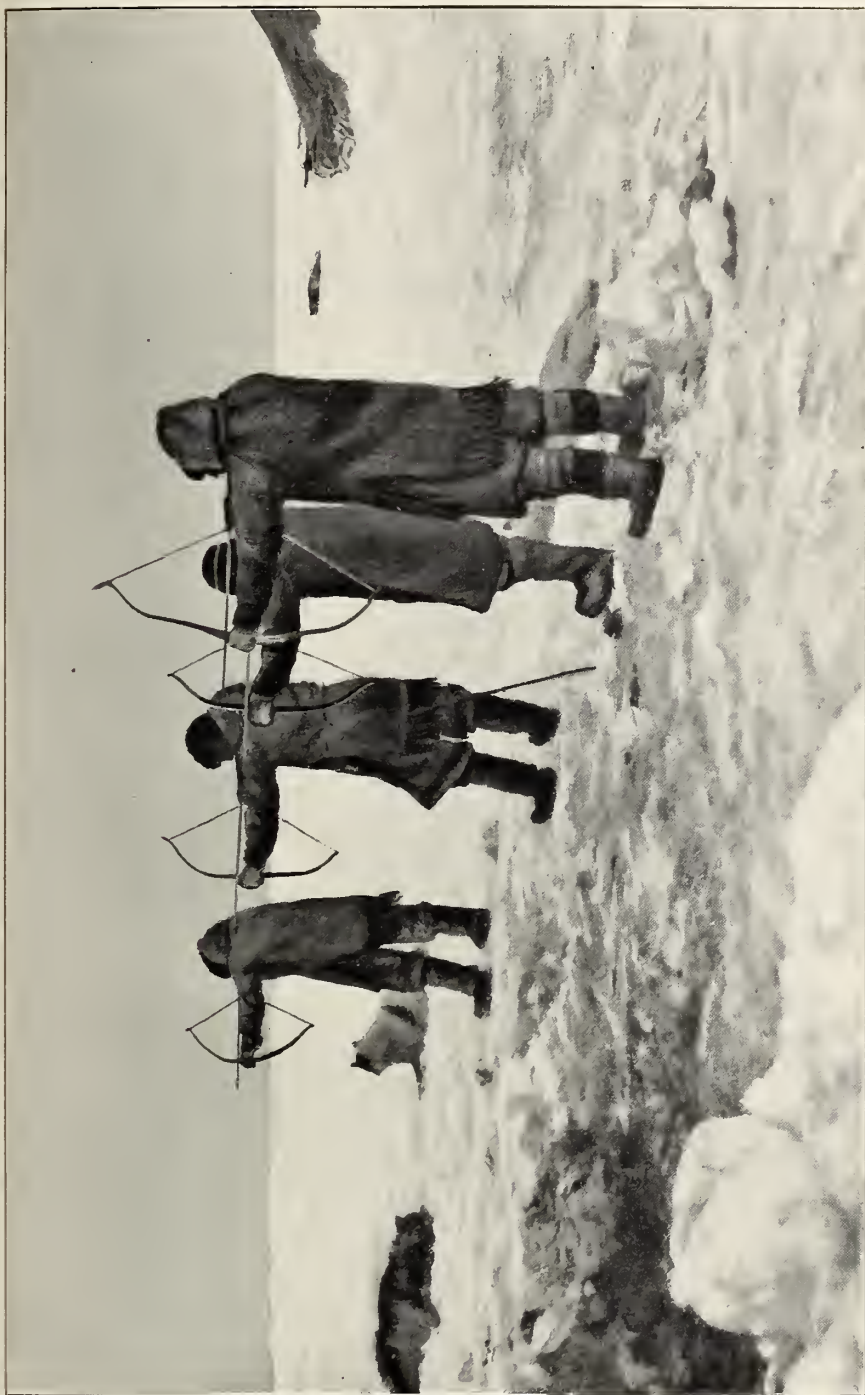
The boy went in and murdered all the Indians in their sleep. Only two Indians, who slept under a canoe, escaped, because they had not been discovered. Not until afterwards, when all the others were killed, and the Eskimos were about to move off, were they seen, but no one could overtake them in their flight.

The boy who avenged the village afterwards grew up to be a great and mighty man, who was never afraid, and many times in the course of his life he killed and exterminated, unaided, numbers of Indians.

Told by
Aqikhivik.

An ijeraq that carried off a human being.

The ijeraq live up in the hills. Their houses lie inside the hills and are invisible to men. They are great runners, and hunt caribou



Target practice with bow and arrow.

Most Caribou Eskimos use modern firearms nowadays, but many still have bows and arrows, which they use for ptarmigan shooting.

by running them down. Once there was an iJERAQ that stole a human being and carried him off to its house. Here it slit up the skin just inside the man's shin, and scraped away all the stuff that lies between skin and bone, saying:

"It is this that prevents you from being a good runner."

And then it opened his veins and drew blood from them and said:

"This also hinders you from running swiftly."

And lo, when this was done, the man could run as swiftly as the iJERqät. He could overtake the caribou. And he had his dwelling afterwards in the hills, among the houses of the iJERqät in the rocks. And it is said that when he wanted to go out, the iJERqät dug a way out for him through the hillside with their teeth.

Told by

Kibkârjuk.

(G.)

Igalilik.

There is a story about a wicked witch named Igalilik. She has a great big cooking pot, in which she boils human beings, and cuts them up after with a big ulo. She is a huge ogress, and very dangerous.

Once there was a man who stole in upon her unperceived and saw her at her cooking. There were whole human bodies in the pot, and the man saw her ulo, and how she prepared her meals. From him we have learned what we know about Igalilik.

Told by

Aqikhivik.

The man who encountered the inuäkluk.

A man was out hunting one day. He had another man with him, he was not alone. By a lake he spied an inuäkluk — a little dwarf — spearing salmon. He gave his bow and arrows to his companion, and said:

"Do not shoot until I call out."

And then he went on unarmed towards the inuäkluk. But when the inuäkluk saw him coming towards him unarmed, he too laid aside his bow and arrows and went to meet him. Thus they met, and at once they began wrestling. But the man could not master the inuäkluk, small as he was. And then he discovered that the inuäkluk grew and

became very big whenever he was not looking. As soon as he looked away from the dwarf, the little creature grew and became very big. After that he kept his eyes fixed on him, and they went on wrestling, and the inuäkluk kept on being very small, and then the man laid him down on the ice, and the inuäkluk lay there still and motionless, without uttering a word, just as if he were dead. Then the man went back to his companion, and though he often turned round to look at the inuäkluk, the body still lay there motionless, and he did not see it move again.

Told by
Kibkârluk.

Tales of killing and vengeance.

Ahataq, the homeless boy.

There was once a homeless boy named Ahataq. He had no relatives whatever, and the neighbours were only waiting till he grew up in order to kill him; for his relatives had committed murders, and he had many enemies. But Ahataq had a foster-father who procured for him many different kinds of amulets, and he hardened himself by all manner of exercises to make his body strong and agile. And there was a very big snow house at the village, a qagjerjuaq, that was used for song festivals when all the people of the village were to assemble. Water was poured over it, so that the domed roof was as slippery as newly formed ice. And the foster-father made Ahataq run up and down that, so as to train his body in skilful, agile movement. At first he fell, but soon he was able to run up and down as if it was not slippery. And he grew so light and skilful and agile that he could jump high up in the air. Thus Ahataq prepared to meet his enemies. One day there came two men on a visit, two of those enemies who were waiting for Ahataq to grow up into a man that they might kill him; and they asked his foster-father:

"Is Ahataq not yet grown to manhood? Is he still too poor a creature for any to be revenged upon him?"

The foster-father answered:

"Ahataq is no longer too poor a creature for vengeance to be taken upon him. Ahataq is now grown up."

Then the men went back to their own place and made known that it was now time to kill Ahataq.

One day a number of men were seen approaching the village. It was Ahataq's enemies, who had come to kill him. But Ahataq, who saw them coming, went outside, and began running up and down the slippery feasting house, and he could jump so high that he could

empty a whole quiver of arrows while up in the air, hitting every single nagjĕrit (target used for shooting at).

But when Ahataq's enemies saw him do this, they turned and fled, for they realised that they would all be killed before they had time to hit their adversary.

This is told of Ahataq, the homeless one, who was to have been killed as soon as he grew to manhood.

Told by
Kibkârijuk.

The man who avenged his brother.

Once in the olden days, there lived two couples. One of the men would not let his companion lie with his wife, and they had quarrelled on that account. One day they went hunting far out at sea. Far out at sea they got out on to an ice floe, and here the man who would not let the other lie with his wife attacked his companion, and stabbed him with a knife. But the man thus attacked spoke up and said:

"Attack me in a place where people can see us."

After that they went back to the village. Here they fought, and the man who would not let his wife lie with the other, stabbed his companion to death. The man thus slain had a younger brother, and this brother went forward to avenge the one who had been killed. He cleared four kayaks at a single bound, and picked up a long-handled knife, and raised the knife against the man who had killed his brother. The other tried to catch hold of the knife, but when he caught hold of the blade, the other pulled, so that the sinews of his hand were severed, and he could no longer grasp anything with it. And then the younger brother stabbed him, but without killing him outright. He then forced him to eat, but the food came out through the wound. Then he tied him up in a skin to bury him alive. But then the man said, as he was being tied up:

"There is a hole here as well." With these words he breathed his last and died.

Thus the man avenged his brother, tormenting the slayer in the same way as that one had tormented his brother. The grave of the man slain can still be seen to this day at Ârviaq (Sentry Island).

Told by
Aqikhivik.

Strange stories.

inukpāk: The giant.

Our forefathers have told us about inukpāk, a giant, whom they saw in times long past. He was so tall that his hood reached up to heaven, and when he walked across the country, he could stride over even the greatest of rivers and wade through all the lakes, and even when he went out midway into the salt sea, the water only came up to his knees. Once inukpāk stole away a man who was out hunting. And so huge was inukpāk, and so small was the man, that he tucked him away in under the lace of his kamik.

That is all we have heard tell of inukpāk.

Told by

Atqâralâq.

(G.)

The blind man who regained his sight.

There were three in a snow hut. In a snow hut lived a mother with her son and her little daughter. The son was blind. When the spring came, and the sun began to give out warmth, the ice-window of the snow hut melted, and so there was a hole in the hut. A bear thrust its head in through the window. They took a bow and placed it in the blind man's hand. The mother took aim, pointing the arrow towards the bear, and the blind man shot the arrow.

"It seemed as if the arrow struck some animal good to eat" said the blind man (ima sô'rlo nerjut pizik'a').

"It was the frame of the window that you hit", said his mother (ibkarô'q pizip'ât).

She was cruel, and grudged him the bear's meat, and ibkaq was their dog. But when they cooked the bear's meat, the little sister saved some meat for her brother and hid it under her tunic and gave it to him.

When summer came, and the lakes thawed, the blind man begged his little sister to guide him to a lake. Up at the lake, the blind man called a loon and spoke to it thus:

"Give me back my sight, and I will give you my knife in payment."

Then the loon came and dived down into the lake with the blind man, and every time they came up to the surface of the lake, it asked if he could see now.

"Can you see now?" asked the loon.

"No, I can see nothing as yet", said the blind man.

And he kept on saying this, although he could already make out the land around. Not until his sight was so keen that he could see the grass that grows up in heaven did he say: "Now I can see."

And then the loon swam in to shore with him. Thus he regained his sight. After that he went home. Down by the house he found the skin of a bear stretched out, and at once asked his mother: "Who got that bear?"

"I do not know", answered the cruel mother.

Then came the time when white whale and walrus move along the coast, and when the young man saw them, he said:

"If only one could harpoon them. If only one had a sealing float!"

And having no sealing float, he took his harpoon line and fastened it round his mother, intending to use her as a float. But when he had harpooned a big white whale, it dragged the cruel mother out into the sea. For a long time she could be seen coming up to the surface whenever the white whale came up to breathe, and then she could be heard to sing:

"Let me come up on to a hill
Where it is dry.
After all, it was at my breast
That you grew up."

Told by
Kibkârjuk.
(G.)

The girl that turned into stone.

There was once a girl who would not be married. She did not like needlework, and therefore she rejected all the men whom her father proposed as husbands for her. At last her father was angry, and when they left their village, he set her up on a stone and said: "Turn into stone, since you reject all men."

And there was magic in the father's words, and the girl at once began to stiffen as her father left her. But the girl grew afraid, and seeing kayaks out at sea, she called to them, for now she was willing enough to do needlework, and willing enough to be married. And she called to them, singing:

"Come up to me,
Come up to me.
I will gladly sew hoods
To your garments.
I will gladly set fine soles

To your kamiks.
 My feet are stiffening,
 Turning to stone,
 My feet are stiffening,
 Turning to stone."

And then she could be heard to cry, speaking very rapidly:

"Now I am stone all over."

Then she was silent, and turned into a pillar of stone.

Told by

Kibkârijuk.

(G.)

Amautalik.

It is said that there lives a great giantess somewhere up inland, who is called Amautalik, because she has a great amaut on her back, and in this she puts the people she steals away. So big is this amaut that even grown up people look like children up there.

Once, in winter, there was a great song festival at a village. The people held a song festival, with sports and games, and when the grown ups had finished, and the children began playing about with the stretched thongs that had been used for the exercises, there came suddenly a great Amautalik and snatched up the children as they played, and as she snatched them up, she tied them together with her qarzua^{ut}, (the waistbelt that is used to keep up the amaut). When she had tied the children together, she went off to fetch her ulo, for she wanted to cut up the children on the spot, and as she went away, she said to them:

"In a little while I will cut you up with my ulo."

But among the children there was an amauligag, a girl who had a sparrow for an amulet. This sparrow she now called to life, and the sparrow flew off and perched on the stretched thongs, and from there it sang:

"I will loose the knots
 That bind you together.
 I will loose the knots
 That bind you together."

And at once the knots were loosened, and Amautalik came too late to catch the children. When she came back she looked about for them in vain, saying: "Where are my qa^{ut}tava^t?" That is what children are called in the language of Amautalik.

"This time it seems, you failed
To get hold of your children,
This time it seems you failed
To get hold your children,"

sang the amulet sparrow to her.

"pi^wzumale ɛqarpana'ŋa kukit'up aktigihup": "And that creature up there, she who is no bigger than a finger-nail, dares to deride me," snarled Amautalik.

But the children were saved.

Told by
Atqâralâq.
(Variant in G.)

What is it that overshadows me?

There was once a woman who had the bad habit of eating pieces from the meat she was cooking when she was out in the cooking place making ready a meal. And often there was nothing left of that meal for the rest of the household by the time she had finished. Then one day a man climbed up on to the roof of the cooking place, and putting his head in the smoke-hole, he closed up the opening entirely, so that a shadow fell upon the woman. At the same time he gathered up all his spittle and let it drip on her cheek.

"What is it that overshadows me?" said the woman. "Is it this which overshadows me?" she said, and cut off one cheek.

The man again gathered his spittle and let it drip on her.

"What is it that overshadows me?" said the woman. "Is it this that overshadows me?" she said, and cut off the other cheek.

Then the man again gathered all his spittle and let it drip on her nose.

"What is it that overshadows me?" said the woman. "Is it this that overshadows me?" she said, and cut off her nose. Here end the words with which this story closes *).

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

*) I had heard this story related somewhat differently among the Harvaqtôrmiut where the woman who cuts off part of her face forms an item in the fantastic adventures of Kivioq, and when I asked whether the version here given might not be incorrectly remembered, the answer, given very energetically, was as follows: "We tell you only that which we know ourselves, and that which has been told throughout the ages in our tribe. You, who come from other peoples, and speak the tongue of other villages (dialect), and understand other Inuit besides ourselves, must know that human beings differ. The Harvaqtôrmiut know many things we do not know, and we know many things they do not. Therefore you must not compare the Harvaqtôrmiut with us, for their knowledge is not our knowledge, as our knowledge is not theirs. Therefore we tell you only what we know from our own villages."

The old woman and her grandchild.

There were once an old woman and her grandchild who were to be left alone in their snow hut. Their neighbours were going to move away to better hunting grounds, and no one cared to have the two with them. So the old woman told her grandchild to steal a bladder-dart (akliqaq). And the grandchild did so, and pretending to play in the snow, she buried it. The neighbours went away, but camped near their old village, well within sight of it. Then suddenly they saw smoke (ihEq) rising from the old woman's snow hut, and no one could think what they could be cooking there. Then one of the neighbours turned back to see what it was the old woman and her grandchild had managed to get hold of, and lo: the old woman caught all manner of sea beasts stabbing them through a drain-hole in the side of the hut with a bladder-dart, and murmuring as she did so:

"Let it open its jaws. Let it open its jaws. She stole a bladder-dart. The snout of what? The snout of a seal".

Thus she spoke down through the drain-hole, and every time she wanted any animal, she spoke down into the drain-hole and told it to open its jaws, and named all the creatures of the sea that were to be caught, and the snout of each, and at once the creature came up through the hole. And thus she caught all manner of sea beasts. But the neighbours, who had wished to desert her, turned back and lived on what she caught.

Told by

Kibkârjuk.

(Variant in G.)

The two men who had but one wife and one kayak between them.

There were once two men who had only one wife and one kayak between them. They were out on a journey together, and one day, when they came to an island, one of the men rowed away from the island with the woman, leaving the other man behind on the island all alone. When the man saw them going off in the kayak, he ran to and fro weeping, and begged them to take him with them, but the other man only turned round and said:

"I will come back in a year's time and see how you are getting on".

So the man lived on the island all alone without a kayak, but before many days had passed, the carcass of a whale was washed ashore on the island, and he cut this up and had meat for the whole winter, and he built himself a house of the bones. When a year had passed, his companion came in a kayak to see how he was getting on, but when the man saw him coming, he hid himself on the island, and then when he saw the other go up inland, he ran down to the

kayak, crept into it and rowed away. When the other man saw this, he ran down to the shore weeping and cried:

"Take me with you, take me with you."

"I will come back in a year's time and see how you are getting on", answered the man.

When a year had passed, he came to see how the man he had left on the island was getting on. And lo, he found only his bones bleaching in the sun. Thus he had his revenge.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The old woman and the polar bear.

There was an old woman who had to limp along behind her neighbours. They had left their old dwelling place to move to better hunting grounds. And the old woman had to limp along behind, far behind, with the aid of a stick. Then she was attacked by a bear, but she pulled off her mitten of caribou skin and stuck it on the end of her stick, and thrust it into the bear's jaws. But the bear, trying to swallow the mitten, got it down the wrong way and was choked to death. Thus the old woman who had been deserted by the rest and had to limp along behind, got a great polar bear for her neighbours.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The faithless wife.

There was once a married woman who was wont to lie with another man without her husband's knowledge. But her husband discovered it, and when he discovered it, he collected worms and all manner of insects from the earth and put them in the longest of his inner stockings, and when the stocking was full, he poured out all the worms and all those insects of the earth down under the hollow of a great stone. And then he said to his wife:

"If you do not let the man who has lain with you lie down over all these worms and all these insects of the earth, then I will stab you to death."

But the woman then brought it about that the man who was wont to lie with her lay down over the hole under the great stone. And the worms and all those insects of the earth crept into his body and bored their way through his hindquarters and killed him.

Told by
Kibkârjuk.

The inor'luit: Those who are not real human beings.

Down by the salt sea there live some people whom we call the inor'luit. They have no necks, their head is fixed to the body without any joint between, and when they want to turn round and look at anything, they have to twist and turn the whole body. We call them inor'luit. They never do any harm to human beings, they have no thought of enmity, and they live down by the salt sea, where men have met with them in times long past.

Told by
Atqâralâq.

The kukilialuit: The trolls with sharp claws.

Out and about one may meet with trolls that have long claws, claws as sharp as knives. When they come upon human beings, they fall upon them and eat them up, picking the meat off their bones with their sharp claws. Many people who have disappeared and been carried off have been attacked and eaten up by these trolls with the long claws.

Told by
Aqikhivik.

The giant that fell in love with a human being.

There was once a giant so tall that it used to wade out into the sea and catch walrus with its hands. The giant was a mighty sleeper, and when it lay down on the ground and went to sleep, the plants of the earth grew up over it, and ordinary womenfolk would go gathering fuel without knowing they were walking over a live giant lying there asleep.

Once this giant fell in love with a woman, and asked her husband to change wives with him. And so they did. But it turned out in this wise, that the man who was to lie with the giantess fell down into her genitals, was lost to sight, and perished. But the giant that was to lie with the woman, thrust his great penis right through her and she died.

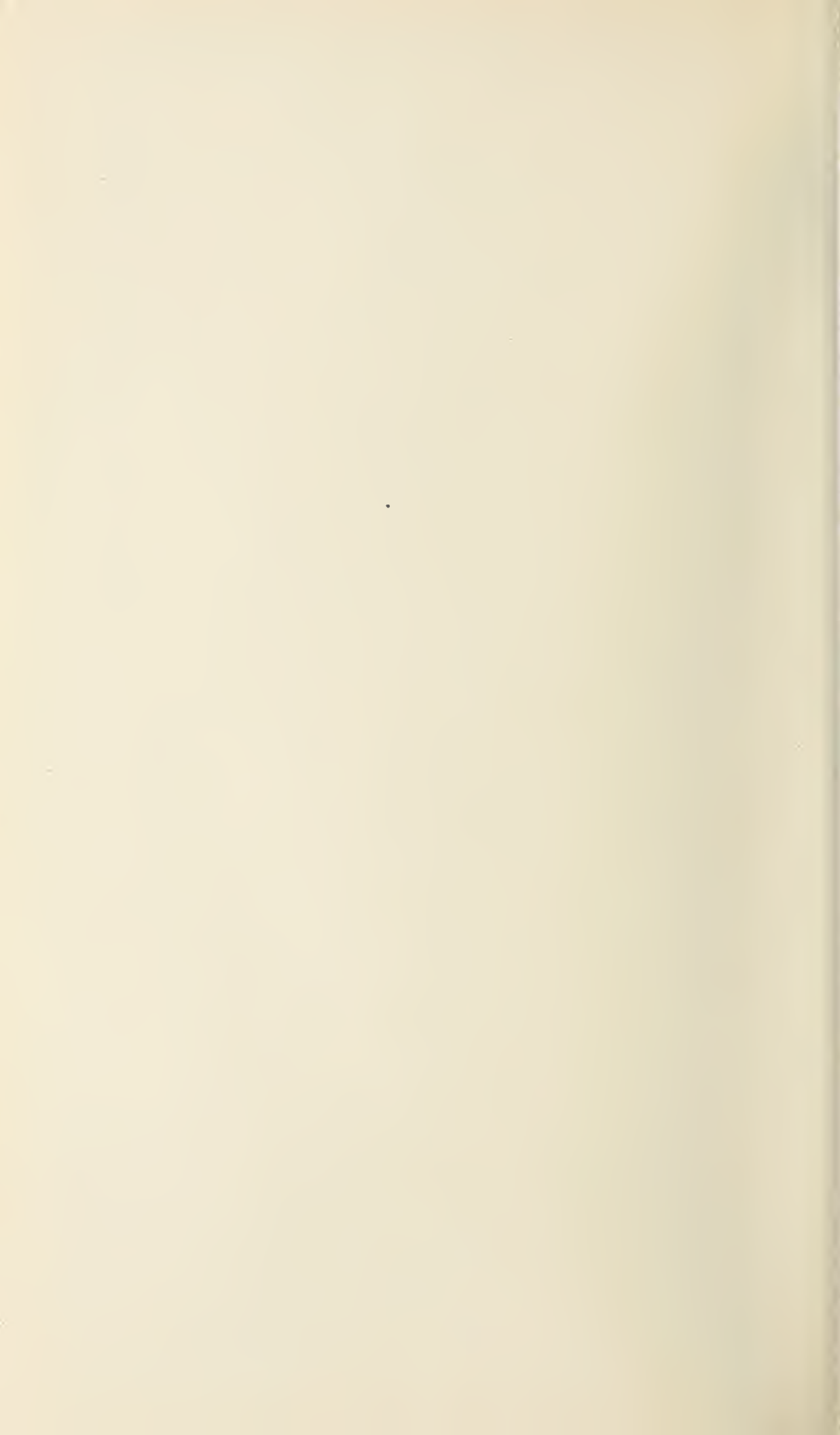
Told by
Aqikhivik.
(G.)

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BY
KNUD RASMUSSEN

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A.

IGLULIK ESKIMO TEXTS



Introduction.

In the foregoing reports on the Iglulik and Caribou Eskimos, as many interposed specimens of the language have been given, especially as regards the Caribou Eskimos, as was possible without disturbing the narrative. Direct specimens are now given in the following, particularly by means of the reproduction of the original text of some of the folk tales.

Naturally, the vocabularies make no pretence of being complete, for as a rule there was only time to take notes of the words that were of interest to the writer, either because they were exactly similar to the Greenland dialect, or because they were so different from it as to be quite unintelligible.

When describing the intellectual culture, the translation of the folk tales has been undertaken in such a manner that, without feeling bound to adhere all too closely to the individual phrases, the endeavour has been to *put life and substance into the legends so that in English they read almost as they are apprehended in Eskimo by one who understands that language as his native tongue.*

The phonetic spelling used is as follows:*)

- a: as in French "aller".
- ai: as in English "high".
- au: as in English "how".
- ä: as in English "hat".
- ɑ: before r and q, as in English "far".
- b: as in English "boy".
- ɸ: a labialized sound between b and v.
- d: as in English "had".
- e: as in French "été".
- ɛ: an e before r and q, articulated back in the mouth.
- f: a bilabial sound between f and v.

*) See also Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith's: *Five Hundred Eskimo Words*, Vol. III, No. 3

- g: as in English "begin".
 g: as in German "regen".
 χ: as in German "ich".
 h: as in English "half".
 i: as in French "ici".
 i: an i before r and q, articulated back in the mouth.
 j: as y in English "yard".
 k: as c in French "cas".
 q: a sound far back in the mouth, behind the root of the tongue,
 almost as when hawking. Peculiar to all Eskimo dialects.
 l: as in English "long".
 L: unvoiced l.
 m: as in English "man".
 n: as in English "no".
 ŋ: corresponds to ng, as in English "king".
 o: as French "eau".
 o: before r and q, as in English "for".
 p: as in English "poor".
 r: almost as in English "sister".
 R: almost as ch in Scotch "loch".
 s: as in English "sing".
 š: almost resembles sh, as in English "shilling".
 ž: a sound between s and j, as in French "je".
 t: as in French "été".
 c: a sound almost as a mingling of t and s.
 u: as in English "poor".
 v: as in English "love".
 w: like the English w.

A dot after a sound means that it is long, for instance a', m' etc.; an apostrophe ' after a syllable signifies the glottal stop or stress, for instance har'waqtō'rmiut, q^Eq^Er' taq, etc.

The *Rev. Hother Ostermann*, whom twenty years' work in Greenland has made familiar with the Greenland Eskimo dialect, has been an untiring and skilled helper in the selection and arrangement of the linguistical material of my diaries; I owe him my best thanks.

After the death of *W. Worster* the translation of volume VII, 3, has been carried out by *W. E. Calvert*.

I.

Original texts of the folk tales.

In the following the first ten stories are reproduced verbatim, the Eskimo mode of expression having been adhered to as closely as possible, whilst the translation has been placed directly below the corresponding Eskimo words.

From No. 11 to 22 the translation is, as will quickly be seen, likewise verbatim, but in the case of these stories the Eskimo manner of speech has not been followed slavishly as in the first ten.

With the exception of a very few, these stories will be found in Vol. VII, No. 1. There, however, they are on the whole much better related than in the original texts, where the constant interruptions for the purpose of recording the dialects have naturally distracted the narrators.

Text:

No. 1 will be found reproduced in Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 278.

- 2 - - — — - — — — - 163.

- 3 - - — — - — — — - 277.

- 4 - - — — - — — — - 278.

- 5 - - — — - — — — - 280.

- 6 - - — — - — — — - 263.

- 7 - - — — - — — — - 257.

- 8 - - — — - — — — - 253.

- 9)
- 10) not previously translated.

- 11 will be found reproduced in Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 206.

- 12 not previously translated.

- 13 will be found reproduced in Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 268.

- 14 - - — — - — — — - 160.

- 15 - - — — - — — — - 261.

- 16 - - — — - — — — - 277.

- 17 - - — — - — — — - 85.

No. 18 will be found reproduced in Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 59.

- 19 - - — — - — — — - 287.

- 20 - - — — - — — — - 151,

which, however, is not quite the same, but a variant of it.

No. 21 will be found reproduced in Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 290.

- 22 - - — — - — — — - 267.

- 23 - - — — - — — — - 158.

1.

ugpikzop ukallit mal'ruk piniaraluarlugit
Owl the big hares two to get them trying
akulai sipifut.
fork its tore.

ugpikzuarɔq ukatlinnik ataucimertunik tiguva'k,
Owl, the big, people say hares two in one place took them
ugpikzop paqaliutigilerpark.
owl, the big ran away with them.

ugpikzohɔq nuliāḡa ɔqarpɔq: "aip'a-
Owl, the big, people say, wife its said: "One of them
sak'utlugo!"
you must take pains with!"

ugpikzuarɔq tigungertuiɔq
Owl, the big, people say, which held on to them convulsively
ɔqarpɔq: "tar'qik akɔḡāk sivitujaraḡāt!"
said: "Moons two between it is always long!"¹⁾

ukatligɔq ujarasuḡjuk avarquk'-
Hares the two, people say, a rock to run round
iartɔrpart; avarqugiarpark.
headed towards; round it ran they each to his own side of it.

ugpikzohɔq ukallip peqata' mimertaqar-
Owl, the big, people say the hare's mate²⁾ thigh took with
pɔq ugpikzop mimiamik peqataḡɔq,
him, owl's, the big's thigh mate its, people say,
kiatitaqarlune.
body took with him.³⁾

ta'male ugpikzuag tɔqutauleruɔq.
But thus owl, the big, was killed.

Inugpasugssuk.

¹⁾ The meaning is: Let us now, while we can, keep as much as possible; when it is dark between the moons, there can be no hunting. ²⁾ One of the hares.

³⁾ The owl's claws have sunk so deeply into the hares that they cannot get loose when the hares round the rock, one on each side. This tears the owl in pieces, one thigh remaining hanging on to one of the hares whilst its body goes with the other.

2.

nip·artəq ajəqusertau^walərame qitik-
A breathing-hole hunter annoyed because he was by play-
 tunit quvnermut qotik·ai.
 ing ones in a fissure got them caught in
 (the fissure closing over them).

nutarqän·əq qiteqät·artualə·n̄mata tama·ne
 Children, it is told, play because it was their custom, there
 quvna·l̄n̄me na^u·ja·ne. nip·artə·əq
 in a fissure at Naujät. A breathing-hole hunter, people say,
 tama·ne sikume aklume tusa·qät·ale-
 there on the ice at a breathing-hole because he incessantly
 ramigit tər·lulät·larpəq: “qitiktut pavkua
 heard them cried loudly: “Playing, those up there,
 qo·gʃutaut·larpait!” tagvale qo·gʃu·gʃaulə·n̄mata,
 close over shall one!” But then, when they now were shut in,
 taupkua aṇajərqa·n̄n̄it quvnagaukauluk taman·a qu·gʃartaugalu-
 by their parents the fissure this was tried to be
 ar·lune, nauk ajulermata saper-
 hewn open, but see this they could not hopelessly lost were
 narsin̄mata; qiaqät·artualə·gamik qin̄·əqät·atuinalərput,
 they (the children); they cried unceasingly they could only look up,
 tama·n̄a ila·n̄n̄it takusartau^waləramik; nip·ar-
 from there by their family seen to were they; of the brea-
 tumut əqartəqät·larpūt: “nip·artəq
 thing-hole hunter there were some who said: “Breathing-hole hunter
 kan·ak kanərərən̄na·tlarpät!”
 he down there may he be changed into frost!”

nip·ät·laler·mät ta·man·äk nuliata
 As he continued breathing-hole hunting thus wife his
 qulaləramiuk upalita·n̄arpa·. tiki·n̄amiuk
 doubted about his life, went out after him. When she came to him,
 kanertualə·n̄mät ka·n̄ialər-
 he now being covered with frost, she started to beat the frost off
 pa·; kə·sa nuṇut·lalerpa· asuila^{n̄} pitaqaruṇ-
 him; at last she finished him completely indeed, truly, there was not
 ne·tlarpəq.
 a particle left of him.

ta'maligwq nutarqät piciu^wa-
But on the other hand, people say, the children guillemots
laⁿu^rerput inⁱu^fau^wäklutik:
did they become as they sang¹⁾:

“anaⁿavit kaⁿmiän^e
“Your mother the kamiks she is sewing

inerunigit ail^ara^tit,
when she has finished them fetch you, she will,

qianäk, qianäk!
cry not, cry not!

ata^tavit to^kiane
Your father the harpoon head he is making

ineruniugwq ail^ara^tit,
when he gets its finished, they say, fetch you, he will,

qianäk, qianäk!”
cry not, cry not!”²⁾)

tagva u^bla^kut takujart^ortaugalu^aramik
When then in the morning seen to they were, albeit in vain,
sunau^bva tiⁿi^fumine^t picilaⁿer-
for just see they had already flown away as they changed into
lutik.
guillemots. Ivaluardjuk.

3.

terigänⁿiartjuk ukaliar^fuklo nuliart^aret^ut.
A fox and a hare who married each other.

ukaliar^funmigwq terigänⁿiartjuk u^wita^rrpwq.
With a hare, it is told, a fox got a husband.

asuila^un u^wigitlaleramiuk aⁿunasuksima-
And so, after she had got him as a husband she had been out
game u^wine neqi^gfarsib^lugo, sala^usugumamut-
hunting and her husband procured meat, but having a liking for

¹⁾ Guillemots always make a piping or whistling sound when they fly out from the cliffs. ²⁾ The story told carelessly, it being as usual taken for granted that it was known. The children do not sing this song while turning into guillemots, for then of course they are no longer unhappy, but on the contrary saved, except that they are in animal form as so often in the folk tales. The song was sung whilst they were still shut in, by a little girl who in her amaut had a baby which kept on crying, and she sang it to quieten the child.

lo aḡunasuḡinrame ukaliartjuk nuli aminut
 idling he did not go hunting the hare and therefore his wife
 qimarqufalērpōq, nuliāne ka'kteḡāt'alera-
 he requested to leave him his wife because he was to blame that
 miuk. asuila^uḡ u^wine qimātluniuk
 she hungered. Yes, and so, husband hers when she left,
 qiavalērpōq teriḡāḡniāq:
 weeping she began, the fox:

“u^wiga, u^wiga

“Husband mine, husband mine

qimarqumāt

to leave him because he demanded

qimāk'iga;

left I him;

pitläksuāḡiḡmāt

thrifty because he was not

qimāk'iga,

left I him,

aja — aja aja.

aya — aya aya.

— — —

u^wiga, u^wiga

Husband mine, husband mine

qimāk'iga,

left I him

qimarqumāt

because to leave him he demanded

qimāk'iga,

left I him

aḡunasuāḡiḡmāt,

because he went not hunting

ajaja — aja aja”.

ayaya — aya aya”.

Ivaluardjuk.

ugpikzuaq siksiklo.
Owl the big and the marmot.

ugpikzuaq tama'ne qinajo'jarlu-
 Owl, the big, people say who round about peering (caught sight
 ne sikserulugaq; sikserulugaq
 of) a little marmot, people say; the little marmot, people say,
 tama'ne nerinasuktaruluk siti'namik sapit-
 thereabouts sought for food, the little one from its hole it (the
 larpa'.
 owl) barred its way.

tagva sapigamiuk iserfeqaq'ilerma't
 When it had shut it out and it had no possibility of getting in
 toqusa'raq'na'go ilaminut ugpikzuaq to'rlu-
 without first killing it for his family the owl the big began
 la'lerpaq: "nerfut una sapigiga',
 to shout: "The quarry this here have I cut off from its home
 qimuksinit maruinit ai'jaule! qamutigiksiler-
 by sledges two let it be fetched! Their best sledges shall
 lute'k, qin'meriksilerlute'k!"
 they take their best dogs shall they take!"

tagva siksiup ugpikzuaq oqä'tla"tilerpa': "aklorut-
 But then the marmot owl, the big addressed: "Chaps
 jät'larlu'qalo tartorukjät'larlu'qalo nericiätlapin'iale-
 mine and kidneys mine now that you are to eat them
 ran'ma mumila'rit, qila"p qerqa iji-
 of me sing a little song and dance, the sky's middle while
 galugo, in'jörniarpagit akla"tlutit
 you regard, I will sing the refrain with you spread your legs
 pik'iglutit." asuila"n mumilerma't
 bend backwards." Yes, and then when it began to sing and dance
 in'julerpa':
 the marmot sang too:

"qila"p pin'a qerqa pin'a'
 "The sky's up there its middle up there
 iji'förlugo',
 looking up towards it,

mumA·rtōrit
sing dancing
akla·^uk·ān·ERlutit
legs apart slightly
Aqunmik·ān·ERlutit
slightly bending the knees
aksut pik·iglutit
well bending backwards
aksut pik·iglutit!"
well bending backwards!"

mumertualo·lermät ugpikḡuag akun·a·ḡagut
When it now sang and danced owl, the big, in through its fork
siksäläblune ta¹ma isersa·tlätluarmät: —
"marmotted" it*) so that when it had slipped in (the owl cried):
"ia·i! nerfut ipna er¹qileraluariga! uterice·!
"Holloa! quarry yon was I just about to get! Turn round!
uvaḡaḡaja·ksuk sutlalāḡ·ikik·it pitlalāḡ·ikik·it
I, fool do nothing to you wish you not the least harm
anila·rtuarme·t!"
come out freely!"

siksiuḡ·ḡḡ u^wiḡata ḡḡautilerpa: "suvagḡḡ
The marmot, they say, its husband said to it: "Whatever is
qa kin·a, sutlala? pitlalāḡ·
the matter with that out there what on earth? It will certainly
ik· a·ḡa anila·rtuarmilaḡa!"
not catch me let me just go out a little!"

nulianigḡḡ siksiup ḡḡautitlalerpa: "uco·p·it
Wife his, people say, the marmot spoke to: "Your genitals'
pipaluätjuān·ik kun·iserḡa·rätla^uk!"
sweet scent let him first sniff a little at them!"

Ivaluardjuk.

*) It slipped with the rapid movement of a marmot.

5.

tulugaq nerlermik nuliarta'rtəq.
The raven with a goose who married.

tuluga-lugəq nerlermik nuliarta-tlapipəq
 A raven, the fool, it is said, with a goose went and married,
 marləfarta'rlune!
 indeed, two it took!

ta'vuṇa ukiujuicumut nunamiṇnut nerlerit
 Over there where there is no winter to their land the geese
 aṇerlarnialeramik tama'ne tuluga-
 when they would journey home there (in their country) the raven
 juaq pa'qufaulerpəq aḥqutiṇa sivitujua-
 the big was requested to stay at home the way because it was
 lə'mät taqajariaḡfa' piḥlugo.
 so long the possible tiredness having regard to.

tagvaligəq nunät qanigiṇicut
 But thereafter they said (the geese) lands that were not near by
 ka'piterätlapik'aluarpait: "naṇariaq sivitutlarmät taqätlala-
 passed they over: "The way*) because it is long tired you
 ravit, uteru'ta tama'ṇa katila-rivaḥ-
 will become, when we return here I will again unite my-
 kit!"
 self to you!"

na'ṇila' uṇalertualə'mät nuliaminut, asuila'
 But no! Because it was very devoted to its wives, well, never-
 gəq audlarivut ilaulerlune. audlartualə-
 theless they started off it going with them. When they now
 gamik ta'vuṇa nunamiṇnut tiṇmiḥlaleramik, sivuva'ru-
 started off over there to their land and flew along great lead
 luk'aluarlugit ta'tutlākta'rlugit
 he had them in front of him glimpsing them only now and then
 qimāktaugaluarlune; nerlerit taqaṇmata
 he being left behind; (but) the geese when they became tired
 tama'ṇa nerlerit ima'n'armut miput ta-
 on this (the sea) the geese on the open sea settled and
 qa'rsilertut.
 they rested.

*) really: "short cut", meaning the short cut taken by the geese by flying over the sea.

tiŋim-iŋmata ta'nuŋarsin'aujarlutik,
 When they now took wing, continuing the journey over there
 mim-iŋmata a'm'a qulaisiŋuŋajaleruŋəq,
 and once more settled again he just kept hovering over them
 a'm'a taq'a-rmigamik audlar-miŋmata tiŋmim-
 and when they had rested and went on and they flew long
 Eqät-artualo-ŋmata, a'm'a tagva mit-imajut
 stretches at a time, then again thereafter sitting on the sea
 aŋum-iŋmigit: "nuliäk'a'k! kat'utit-
 when he came up with them: "Wives two! Place yourselves side
 ik!"
 by side!"

a'm'a mim-iŋgame nuliäm'e qa'ŋinut
 And again when he sat wives his on the top of them
 taupko qulusərulunit merquerutilermagit
 these here their two back parts he wore the faethers off
 tigəqät-arnerinit, qula-asugilerlugit
 by his holding fast and for fear that they should freeze to death
 aniŋisa najäktik əqautileriva't
 their elder brothers their two younger sisters they addressed
 u'ŋa qimagusimajualo-lermät: "katequ-
 the husband while he had dropped behind: "When he wishes
 lerpatit iŋgiarpät avi-
 you to place yourselves side by side then, as he settles, you
 kat'länŋiarputik!"
 must suddenly separate!"

asuila^ugəq taqarulum-iŋgame:
 And true enough, it is said, when he, tired to death (cried):
 "nuliäk'a'k! kat'utit'ik!"
 "Wives two! Place yourselves close together!"

asuila^ugəq kativut. mi-
 And then, people say, they placed themselves together. But
 giarmät avika-tlänmatik
 when he sat down and they suddenly went one from the other
 ina-nut mitlarpəq, sujuapigəq una:
 out in the sea he sat down, and what then happened to him:

“sakiäk! sakiäk! qutuk'ut pakimiñ-
 “Brother-in-law! Brother-in-law! Over my chest lift me up from
 a!”
 below!”

tagvale qimäktauleruǰǰ.
 But after that he was at last left behind.

Ivaluardjuk.

6.

täktuñ'ǰrtǰq.
The one that became fog.

tǰqujuñ'ǰq anitanjut ilu^wertau-
 The dead, it is told, who were taken out, though they were
 jo'galuit tikicartǰrtaugaluarlutik iñ'ina'r-
 laid in graves, when people came to them it happened that
 ta'tlarpalermata.
 those who had tended them said they were not there.

taima^Eqät'artualo'lermata a'm'at'a-
 This having become a habit with them things even went so
 rǰ'q una iläñ'arqa^uǰǰ tagva
 far, it is told, that yon who had just lost one after that
 tǰquñ'uarumajo'jalerpǰq. perǰ'rtat^ublu-
 had a desire to pretend that he was dead. Covered with stones
 ne quliblugo tǰquñ'uarlune tagvane-
 he was arched right over and pretending to be dead there he
 lerpǰq.
 stayed.

asuila^ugǰ'q suǰǰ! tikitauǰ'arpa-
 And true enough, it is told, what! Coming to him he heard
 luk'ame perujartausitlarpǰq;
 someone and then the covering stones were thrown from him;
 tagva amublugo nusuklugo nañ-
 thereafter dragging him out, pulling at him he (the body snat-
 miulerpa;
 cher) made him ready to take on his back; when he had finished

ramiuk	tagvale	anera ^{ut} -i-
making him ready to take on his back	then	he carried him
lerpa ^r .		
home with him.		

taqajaraṇame	naṇma ^l raṇe	
Tired when he	became	the burden without taking off his back
taqer ^s erpäklune	nikuin ^a asuleraṇät	taqa ² r-
a rest he took	rose when he felt the desire to	rested a little
sila ^r qa ^a tlune	ujarqät	pakinigsima ^b lugit
after first having	stone	seized hold of (the other) had
art ^s sisimaqät ^a arta ^a lugileramiuk		ta ^a man ^a ,
and manage the burden no longer he had made him		in that way
qarula ^a suṇaler ^l unig ^o q	ta ^a man ^a	ajulersima ^b blune
and groaning, it is said	in that way	made powerless
nikuisuṇar ^a päklune.		
he rose with great difficulty.		

taima	taqaʳsileraṇāt	ugpigakuluitlo	mak'o,
Thus	when he rested	and small bushes	those there,
tigublugit	artōrsisimaqāt·artaṭlugilermago,		
seizing hold of them	after the other had made him powerless,		
qarulaṭqāt·artalerpōq	ajuleraṇame	nikuisuṇar-	
he started to growl	when he was powerless	and only with	
pāklune.			
great effort could rise.			

asuila ^u gəq	tikitlune.	tikiname	
And at length, people say,	he came home.	Arriving home	
naŋma ^E rlune	iterlune	ta'ma	nuliŋaŋa
burden taking off his back	he went in	and then	wife his
aniblune.	u ^{wi} ŋa	taupna	iterame
came out.	Husband hers,	this here,	after he had come in
erŋerlune	an'ɔra'jaŋrlune	in'ar ^l lune.	nuliäŋata
at once	clothes taking off	laid himself to rest.	Wife his,
amɔraklugo	nusuklugo	ulualuni-	
pulling it in (the corpse)	dragging at it	ulo hers, poor thing,	
gəq	ipiksalerpa'	nerleqima'le-	
people say,	began to sharpen	as food for the others she making	
ramiuk.			
ready to lay it out.			

ipiksare·ramiuk na·ḡagut pila-
 Sharpened it when she had belly his over to flense she was
 giarpa· a·m·a: “qijugtaria kala·rtlaḡa!”
 about to commence and then: “A little fuel let me first fetch!”

parna^Ertōramigō·q
 Ready to do so when she had made herself, people say,
 qijugtaria·sitlarpōq, ta·ma nip·ar-
 fuel to gather she went out, and then, disappeared behind a
 māt u^weratātlarivōq.
 hill when she was, open his eyes he (the corpse) suddenly did.

qitōrḡakuluagō·q sujuapik·una:
 Child little his, people say, what was the matter with it:
 “ata·tak! ata·tak! apapka ta·ma ijine u^wik·ik!”
 “Father! Father! Food mine this way eyes his opening!”
 “qujana! ujarqāt ublume pakiniksimavākluḡit
 “Never mind! Stone to-day seize hold of he did
 san·ilitlara·ḡa.” u^wit·ara·ḡāḡō·q
 sore of body made he me.” Whenever it opened its eyes, people say,

tagva:.

then:

“ata·tak! ata·tak! a·pap katuma ijine u^wik·ik!”
 “Father! Father! The food there eyes his opening!”
 “qujana! ublume ugpiḡ·āt tigumiartōrluḡit
 “Never mind! to day small bushes seizing hold of them
 san·ilitlara·ḡa.” nikuikautigigame
 sore of body made he me.” Rose suddenly did it (the corpse)
 anaucikātlaḡlune taupna tōquḡuartōq.
 striking at him him there (the father) died he.

atuna anguk·a·lua tōqutlugo qitōrnanitlo tamaita.
 And thus father its he killed the children and them all.
 qimasitlarpōq aḡeramut. ta·vuḡarpartitlugu-
 Fly he did homewards. Some distance away when he had
 gō·q nuliāḡa maliktuapik
 come, people say, wife his (the body-snatcher's) pursuing
 taku^gfarutlarpōq. imḡerula·tlaramigō·q ta·mak
 in sight came she. Magic song sang he then, it is said, thus
 ḡfarivōq: “imnaḡ ma^una naule!”
 spoke he: “Steep cliff here let it grow forth!”

asuila ^u ηəŋ	audlarmata	tainuŋa
And then, it is said,	when they had travelled	some distance
iglbɔrtik	qimɑrərtualəʔtiblugo,	taku ^ʒ fɑrərpəŋ
house theirs	away from had come,	in sight came she
		pursuing
təŋ	nərqan ^ʔ rtiblugin.	maliktəŋ
them	short rest while they stopped.	The pursuing one
		in
ku ^ʒ fa ^u lɛrmät	nukaʔta	parktoŋuane
sight when she came	younger sister hers	skin-stretchers little hers
kap ^u fərpai	iluanutlo	pam ^u aglune.
stuck them down	and in among them	crept.

tagvagōṛq aṇugamigit paṇaleqāt·arlu-
Then, it is said, in coming up with them throwing herself
git uiāqāt·arlugit aṇajōrqan·e tōqufarpai.
upon them to death did she bite them parents hers she killed.
nuṇun·amigit nuk·ane ʾorni-
When she was finished with them younger sister hers she
lerpa· pa·kto·tiṇigōṛq takijualo-
went up to and her skin-stretchers, they say, because they had
lermata, ka·vik·alu·arluḡo
grown and become long, walking in vain round about them
qimain·alerpa·.
left she them at length.

tagvaligwəq	tumine	atərLugit	utimut
But after that, it is said,	tracks hers	following	back
audlarwəq,	tagvaligwəq	nerfuta ^u lerLune	ak-
she went,	and since, it is said,	wild animal being	bear
la ^u lerwəq.			
was she.	.		

taiṃaŋʼarnitlugəŋ	audlarneʼlune	neʼʃutit
And since that time, people say,	beginning	wild animals
tamaʼko	aḅlāt	piŋəʁput.
these	different	were made.

Mákik.

8.

ublɔq un·uaro.
Day night and.

terigan·ia'rsuŋɔq ɔqatɫalɛrpɔq: "qa^usuitle
 A fox, it is said, to speak it began: "Dark without dawn be it,
 qa^usuitle!" tuluga^uluk so·q qa·i·ma!
 dark without dawn be it!" The raven, wherefore no wonder!
 pisum·inane tiŋmigame ma^uŋa im·amut
 Walking not, but because flying it was, hither the sea towards
 tuloqat·artualo·lerame niŋ·alɛrame
 to strike its head constantly when it began angry it became,
 ɔqalɛrpɔq: "qa^uvɔq — ublɛrpɔq qa·ɔq! qa·u-
 saying: "It grows light — day it becomes dawn! It grows
 vɔq ublɛrpɔq — qa·ɔ^rŋ!" a·m·a-
 light, day it becomes — caw!" (the voice of the raven). Furthermore,
 gɔq terigan·iarzɔk pilɛrujɔq: "un·ukle
 it is said, the fox exclaim begins it too: "Evening be it,
 un·ukle!"
 evening be it!"

ta·i·maŋa·nitlugɔq qa·ɔqat·alɛrlu-
 That time from and, it is said, grow light daily usually began
 nilo un·ukpalɛrpɔq.
 it and evening constantly to be began it.

Ivaluardjuk.

9.

ugpigzuag qupanar'juŋ·mik nuliarta·rumaɣɔq.
Owl the big sparrow little with marry who would.

qupanuar'jugɔq, u^wiɣarame qia^a-
 Sparrow little, it is said, widow became when it cried often
 lɛrpɔq u^wiminut:
 began it husband hers over:
 "u^wiga·, u^wikatlaga·!
 "Husband mine, husband poor mine!
 qitiktunut inäplugo inägziŋ·arluɣo;
 They playing to (go) inviting him invite merely did I him:

sərqa·r^djuṇmut naperlugo
baleen-piece — by means of catching him in loop

tigu^wa·.
took he (i. e. a person) him.

u^wiga· u^wikatlaga·!
Husband mine, husband poor mine!

qitiktunut inäplugo
They playing to (go), inviting him

inäggin·arLugo;
invite merely did I him;

sərqa·r^djuṇmut naperlugo
baleen-piece — by means of catching him in loop

tigu^wa·.”
took he (i. e. a person) him.”

“sə·q imna u^we·t qiaṇ·uagin·arpiu·k?”
“Why that husband yours weep still over do you him?”

ugpigZuaq ɔqarpɔq,
owl the big said,

“uḅfa·^una u^wigʃaq mer^tqu-
“here one who is suitable as a husband feathers long pos-

tuɔq, qablutuɔq!”
sessed of, eyebrows large possessed of!”

“kiame, kiame, u^wigialukpa·tit
“Whoever, whoever, husband to get desires you

qablutualuktutit mer^tqutujualuk-
eyebrows large possessed of as you are feathers long possessed

tutit kanaṇ·a·la· qa²rtɔ·q,
of as you are right down from forehead large possessed of,

pikuktɔ·q, quṇase·fa·q
nape of the neck great possessed of, throat devoid of exceedingly

tartunartɔ·q.”
haunch meat thick possessed of.”

Ivaluardjuk.

inuklo tulu^gARLO oqatta^utifut:

Man raven and talking together:

"tulu^gAr^tjuaq paksumak kiso pa'na kin-
 "The raven the big you up there what up there in your
 miarpiuk?"
 mouth have you?"

"inup qut'ora."

"A man's thigh his."

"so'dle a'tutiañilarma?"

"Why but give not little you me?"

"mamarigapko i'vara nerivara, tulu^g-
 "Liked because I it swallowed I it ate I it, raven-youngs
 ka^uka^vkalo a^ugtorapta, kanuktorapta, niaquartorapta,
 mine and I flensed it have we blood drank it we, head ate it we,
 qara3Ar^ttorapta mañ'uaq!"
 brains slobbered in us we, it was nice!"

Ivaluardjuk.

a r n ä t i j E r q i g t u t.

The women who fell into the power of the ijerqät.

a r n a ṇ · ɔ · q m a l r u k i^v ſ u t i t a r i a r l u t i k

It is said that two women who were out gathering fuel (cassiope)
i j E r q i g p u k. i j E r q i ṇ · n a m i k
 fell into the hands of the ijerqät. After they had fallen into

p E q a t a ·^u g ɔ · q n u t a r q i j a^u v ɔ q.
 the hands of the ijerqät, one of them was to have a child.

a u d l a r i a g ' j a^u k i ṇ n i g ɔ · q n i^v i u g a^u j u -

But as it was now desired to take great care that they should not

a l o · l e r a m i k i · m a m u ṇ · ɔ · q o · n a r t u m u t

escape, they were taken down to a warm lake where it was

m i k i a r s i c e · v i ṇ m i n u t a t e r p a g i k. i m a r ɔ r s i -

customary to place things that were to putrefy. They placed

m a k · a^u j a r l u g i t m i k i a r m a t a g ɔ · q

their feet down into the water, and when they swelled up and

p u t u k · u k · u t a ṇ m a r l u g i t i k l e r -

became rotten, they were opened and parts of the big toes were

t ɔ r a i . p u t u k · i k · i ṇ · ɔ · q t a i n u ṇ a s i ṇ i t l u g i t

taken away. And the toes were placed in the water and *that*

p e · a g a^u v u k ɔ q i l a · q u t a^u n e -

(the soft parts of the toes) was taken away which it was said

r a r l u g i ṇ · ɔ · q . i j E r q a i

was the cause that human beings run slowly. The ijerqät said

ɔ q a r l u t i k p e · a r p a^u k .

this and therefore took it away*).

*) The ijerqät are famous as fleet runners. It is said that their big toes have no soft flesh such as human beings have, and therefore they give a firm grip when they run. It is for this reason that, when they take human beings prisoners, they operate the soft parts away after first letting the toes swell up in a hot spring or lake. In Greenland there is the same belief in the ijerqät as being such quick runners that they can easily overtake caribou. But in this case they have it that the ijerqät remove the superfluous and soft flesh of the feet by letting the one who is to be turned into a fast runner place his foot in a bag filled with worms and maggots and tie it at the top until all the soft parts are eaten away.

ijerqane·η·oramik qizuktariarsin·arlutik

When the women had tired of being with the ijerqät (for even
peqateqarp aη nera mik audlar-
though they had only to go out for fuel, someone accompanied them)
puk. koga·lo·p qarusanut iterpuk
they fled. And they crawled into a rock-fissure near a river;

peqata·gō·q ama·rtōq peqata·gō·q nutaraqaη·icōq.
one of them had a child in her amaut, the other was childless.
audlarlutik qa·^wija^uga mik
As soon as it was found that they had fled, a pursuit was
ivasitlarput. qinmili·arlutiklugō·q qinmi-
started after them. The ijerqät had their dogs with them,

najuηnigō·q. iva·leramik koga·lugō·q qanata·
uncommon dogs. When searching the ijerqät used to cross
lutik ika·riara·ηamik·o ijerqat pivak·amik
the river in one leap, and they went at such a speed that one
qiarutlagō·q nipitu^vap·ōq. qinminajuη·ōq naniη-
heard a distinct swish in the air. But when a dog found
matjuk arnät qā^utlarpa^uk: “tōqufa gā·fa·raluvagit
the women, they said to it: “I will kill you if you do not keep
ōqarta^ule·t! qaraluaruvit tōqufagā·fa·raluvagit!”
your mouth closed! And if you say anything, I will kill you!”
aη·a^ugame ujarleqata·iva·lerivōq tōqufaga^u-
It said yes, and joined those who were searching (without saying
jarā·fa·minut ersilerame.
anything), for it was afraid of being killed.

nutara·gō·q ata·ta^oriaraluar māt peqata·ta

The child (in the amaut) tried to cry: father! But the woman
tōqusa·vaηut tigu·blugo tōqufarpa. un·uηmān aηera^uη-
took it by the throat and killed it. When evening came and
mata audlarquk. audlaramik
the ijerqät went home, the women fled. They went away and
iη·niηnamik inuηmiuliηmata
came to human beings; when they had thus come to human beings
qitquk·a·^walerput. tai-
they were often requested to take part in games. Thus
man·agō·q qitquk·a·^waleramik pivak·ikaluarlutik
requested to join in the games, they did not join them, they only
ar·fa·lera·ηatagō·q maliktarqu·tivaklutik. ijer-
followed behind when ball games were being played. But the
qit·uη·ō·q qitlak·tit·arquk
two women who had been with the ijerqät did run with the

t a i l e A r f A q a t a ° t i c i k . ɔqa^u-
 others, but never faster than the other ball players. They
 t j u g a · ^wa k · a l u A r L u t i k p i u m a v a g a t i k ;
 were often requested (to run quickly) but they never would;
 ɔqila^u n e r A r L u t i k a η u η m a t i η · i n · e r A r L u t i k
 they said that they ran slowly and could not keep up with
 ɔqarpaktut.
 the others.

A r f a l i η m i η m a t a m i g z a · n u η · ɔ · q A q i z a ^u m i η m ä n
 But indeed once, when they began to play ball, it happened
 p e q a t a · t a g ɔ · q A q u i t a i n · A r p a · ,
 that the ball was kicked over in the direction of one of the women,
 p e q a t a · t a g ɔ · q A q i g i v a · , u d l a s i t a i n · A r L u t i k l o .
 and she kicked it to the other, and then they started to run.
 p e q a t a · t a g ɔ · q ɔ q a ^u t i v a : “ n u k a t u g a ^u z A · r L u -
 And the one of them said: “Now you pretend to be a young caribou
 tit.” p e q a t a · t a l i g ɔ · q ɔ q a ^u t i v a :
 bull.” And the other said: “And you pretend that you are a cow
 “ n o r a l i η u z A · r L u t i t .” A r p a s i k -
 with calf,” (i. e. the quickest and shyest caribou). And so they
 l u t i g l o , p u t s u t ɔ r f u i n a r ɔ · q t a i v u η a g ɔ · q u η a s i k s i a t -
 ran, and it was like drifting smoke away over (the plain). And
 l a t A · r L u t i k u t e r i b l u t i k u d l a g l u t i k s u l e t a ^u p k u n u η · a
 still running at the same speed they came back to all those who
 q u η · i a r t i g i l i k · a m i η n u t t i k i u t i g a m i k :
 were watching them (and then they said):

“ a t a i l i g ɔ · q t a i m a t u t A r f ä t l i t t l e .”

“You see, that is how one should play ball.”

a k u i l e r a l u a r m a k · i k p i u m a η · i l e r L u t i g l o a e r q a l e r L u t i g l o .
 Though they were now urged, they would not, but went home.
 k i η ɔ r n a g u η · ɔ q A r f a ^u j a ^u g i a l a · η · i t l a t q i t q u g z a · g i a r -
 It is said, that later they were never requested to play ball or
 q a η · i t l ä k i ^v f u t i t a r i A r a · η a m i η · ɔ · q t u k t u -
 to take part in the games, but they became indispensable helpers
 p a l e r L u t i g l o p i η m a t i k u ^w i η a k i -
 to their husbands, for it so happened with them that if only
 t a g ɔ · q t u A · r i l e r p a · k .
 they went out to gather cassiope, they caught caribou.

Inugpasugssuk.

aive·t umiṇmaⁱtlo niu^wEqatige·kʃut.
The walruses and the musk oxen trading with each other.

umiṇmaⁱluṇ·ṓ·q aive·tlo katimalEramik

It is told that musk oxen and walruses once lived together, piṇ·ugilitlaramik·o taⁱpkua umiṇmaⁱt, to^ga·qaṇa·ralu- and then they were discontented and it was then the musk oxen ARNERmata; neriblutik uja^rqanutlo aḵəqu- that had tusks; when they were to eat among the stones they tigalugit, ukiuk·utlo qEREqat·ARTualuit; were in the way, and in winter they got frost-bite in them; tu·ga·ṇit piṇ·ugilitlaramitjuk niu^wERu- and as they were thus displeased with their tusks, they had a masitlarput, aive·t nākfoqaṇa·ruluk·aluARNERmata, desire to trade, and it was at that time when the walruses had horns. qaiⁿ·anutlo ilor·itigita^ulugigaluarmātjuk, The walruses had good use for these against the kayaks, umiṇmaⁱtlo qinminut inuṇnutlo ilor·itigita^u- and the musk oxen had good use (of their tusks) against dogs lugigaluarmātjuk toquci^foriksukulo·galuARNERmata. asuila^ugṓ·q and men; they were good for killing with. But the end niu^wERlutik umiṇmaⁱt nākḵuktaṇa·rlutik, aive·t to^ga·r- of it was that they traded, and the musk oxen got horns and the taṇa·rlutik. tagvale niu^wERamik, aive·t to^ga·qalEramik walruses tusks. And thus they traded and when the walruses had qaiⁿanit piniaga·ulerput kiṇ·uticigaju- got tusks they could be hunted from kayaks, for now it was not ṇ·in·ERuleramik qaiⁿamik. umiṇmaⁱtlo so easy for them to overturn a kayak. But neither were the nākfoqalEramik ERSinaṇ·in·ERulermata, musk oxen so dangerous after they had got horns, so now one piḵa·^uciARTalerpuṇ·ṓ·q. can succeed in bringing down a few of them.*)

Ivaluardjuk.

*) This story is a typical example of confused narration and breach of all grammatical construction.

ARNAQ qUPERUMIK qITORŋA^uJAQARTOQ.
The woman who had a worm as her foster-child.

ARNARO^oQ qITORŋISUIC^oQ qUPERUMIK

It is said that a woman, who could not have children, took a qITORNA^uJAQÄTLALERMÄT. UNINĀTIGUT a·ma·- worm to be a foster-child. It got into the habit of suckling in ma^gSIMAJUALO·LERMÄT AUERSEQÄT·ALERMAGO her armpit, and then it happened that she fainted from loss of aŋILER^tUALO·GAM E. au^gTA·RSERLUNE blood, for the worm had now grown big. The woman used to go UB^lARARPALERPOQ, UB^lARSIMALA·RLUNE visiting while waiting for her blood to come back; and when she aILERa·ŋame: “te·tita^uk TERUMIARIT, te—e;,” came home from visiting (she used to say): “Say, tee, tee—e,” taⁱMA NI^lLIAPALU^gTARLUNE qUPERUALUK. and then the worm used to make a noise like that.

taⁱMAN·AK aŋIUALO·LERMÄT kamIALUŋMINIK

Thus it continued to grow, so that the woman at last let it po·qALERLUGO. stay in one of her kamiks.

tagvAG^oQ tIGUARSIATA AqaⁱALERA·ŋAMIK:

And when the foster-mother fondled it (she used to say): “a ni u s i j i ^g f A r a , p i j i ^g f A r a !” “You, who will fetch snow for me, you, who shall be my own!” k e · l u g o. and then she bit it.

taⁱMAN·AG^oQ ta^uMA^uŋa inuŋnut ta-

As it now began to stretch its neck towards people when they si^fEQÄT·A·RTUALO·LERMÄT sinILERA·ŋATA slept and people also feared that it would entirely deprive its t^oQUJA·RIÄ^gfA· ARNARSⁱATA pILERLUGO, foster-mother of life, as of course it had almost sucked all the a u E R u t i l E R m a g o. blood from her (they started to talk of killing it).

UB^lARSIMALER^tITLUGO t^oR^fUŋMUT

And one day when she was out, the worm was thrown into igita^uJUALO·M·ÄT qINMINUT; ARSA·ra^uta^uJUALO·M·ÄT the passage to the dogs; they fought over it, tore a hole in it, so aliktuARALO·ŋMÄT au^gTAQARP^oQ t^oQuta^uVLUNE. that the blood flowed and it was killed.

A r n a g o · q a i l E r a m e: t e · t i t A · r a —

It is said that when the woman returned home (she thought):

q a j i g i t a ^u t a i n . A r p o q q a i:

"perhaps they have thrown my pet out!" (and then she said):

“te·tita^uk tERUMIARIT”, nauk niñLERUñne·tlarpəq.

"Say tee, tee," but there was nothing, it made not a sound.

tagvaligw·q tɔqutlaʹrulup·ɔq.

Thus, it is said, it was killed.

Ivaluardjuk.

14.

$$q \quad a \quad m \quad \cdot \quad a \quad ^i \quad j \quad \circ \quad q \quad .$$

The one who summoned the animals of the hunt.

n i η i ϑ r q u ä ^g ∫ a · m i n E r ϑ · q E r η u t · a n i l o

It is said that a poor old woman and her grandchild were left

qimagta^uvLutik ka·gpätflutiglo ivaloqañ·ilerLunilo

behind alone, and they hungered, and she had no sinew-thread,

o q o r u t E q A r a t i g l o.

nor had they any sleeping skins.

t a · u p n a n i η i u η a q a m · a i q i a t l A r-

So this old grandmother went and summoned the animals of

p q.

the hunt (by means of magic words).

a s u i l a ^u n E r i n a l i u t l a l e r m ä t t a m a k · u a

And sure enough, when she began to utter magic words, all

avin·akuluk·ut teriakuluk·ut unortualo·blutik

these small ones came in large flocks, lemmings and ermines,

tikitlar palermata, tagvaqo'q qereriutitlar suA-

and when there sounded a creaking in the snow from many feet,

ra·ṇa·ta Erṇu·t·ane ta·ku·ja·rtə·rqu·va·g·lu·go.

the grandmother would tell her grandchild to go out and look.

“ k i s u ^w a k · u a ? q a · ŋ e r q u ^v a k · a · q ə · q

"What are they? Tell them that I say they must pass by!"

q a · n E r L i t ! ”

Let them pass by!"

na nua l u i t a m a r q u t t i k e r a t u a l o · l e r m a t a

And when bears began to come and wolves, she said that

qa·n Erqu^v agluqit.

they were to pass by.

t a m a k · u a E r s i n A r t o r a j a i t n u-

And when these dangerous animals had almost passed by

ηulermata ukaliar^fuit tikik·aluarmata qa·ηitlar-
and the hares began to come, she said to them, too, that they
sin·ar^qu^vai.
should just pass by.

tamak·ua nununmata tuk^tut am·a·la·
And when these had passed by and the caribou came as well,
tikitlarmata:
she said:

“iserqu^vak·ag^o·q iserlit!”

“Tell them that I say they are to come in, let them come in!”

tagva iserasu^gtualo·leraluarmata iserun·āη

Over them there came a great desire to go in but they could
itlalmata ajuin·artualo·galuit.
not (because the passage was too narrow).

qa·ηerqu^siη·uarsin·ar^pai

So she said to them, too, that they should pass by, because it
iserun·āη·iηmata:
was impossible for them to get in:

“qa·ηerqu^vak·ag^o·q qa·ηerlit!”

“Tell them to pass by, let them pass by!”

teri^gāñiar^fuit am·a·la· tikitlarmata:

And then came likewise the foxes:

“iserqu^vak·ag^o·q iserlit!”

“Tell them to come in; let them come in!”

itisiu^valo·m·atag^o·q tagva, na^uk

And it is said that when they now came in in large numbers
tata^gtualo·leramik piveqaruⁿne·ramik
and they crammed the house, and there was no room for them to
tagva·rlunilo, katanmutlo sinmiutlune,
move, she said: “Let that be enough!” And she set herself up like
t^oqu^farta^ulugileramik·o atle·t
a cork in the passage. And when they began to kill them, those
ipiglutik t^oqujut. pamiuⁿisa
at the bottom were already suffocated. After that she procured
nukinik ivaluta·rlutik amininik oq^rrutita·rlutik,
sinew-thread of the tail sinews, sleeping rugs of the skins and
neqigilerlugitlo.
they lived on their meat.

Ivaluardjuk.

k a g l u ŋ · ɔ r t u t.

Those who turned into thunder and lightning.

nukare·ŋ·ɔ·q arnaⁱn·ait u^weqaruŋnarsifut,

There were once two sisters, old enough to be married but not
 suitable u^weqaŋicut. un·uame pigA·qat·alerma^tik
 yet with husbands. They got into the habit of staying up late at
 aŋutiŋata qibsigivalermagit taiⁱman·ak audlar-
 night and when their father objected, they made ready to go away
 patliasilerpuk aŋeraruŋnaⁱlerlutik audlarpaleramik.
 with the intention of never more returning, and so they went away.

A q i^g f e r p a l e r a m i k a u d l ä t l a ŋ m a · l e

They caught ptarmigan after they had gone away and when
 r a m i k A q i^g f e r a · ŋ a m i k n u k · a n e
 they caught a ptarmigan the eldest one ate the breast whereas she
 qulusukɔ^rfigi^farlugo aŋajukliuner^fAq qat·aⁱtɔ^rpaklune.
 only gave the backbone to her little sister. Then it happened that
 nukarliuner^fAq i^mŋerpalerpɔq aŋajune a^per^fɔ^rpakliätlugo:
 the younger began to sing a song, enquiring of her elder sister:

“a l e q a · k, a l e q a · k

“Elder sister, elder sister

s o · n a v i n u k,

What shall we be?

a l e q a · k, a l e q a · k

Elder sister, elder sister,

s o · n a v i n u k

What shall we be?

nanuŋ·unavuk — aⁱt

Shall we be bears?

nanuŋ·ɔrupnuk

If we become bears

k i g u t i b t i n · u t

We can with our teeth

akinasuarpa^rar^pugut — aⁱt?”

Revenge ourselves! Can we not?”

aŋajna a·k·a^rpaklune.

The elder sister said no.

“A q i^g f i b l e

“With a ptarmigan’s

qulucuŋnik

Backbone

Aqajägtuñ·ilaña,
 I was not satisfied,
 a l e q a · k s o · n a v i n u k ?
 Elder sister, what shall we be?
 a m a r o · g u n a v i n u k ?
 Shall we be wolves?
 k i g u t i b t i n · u t
 With our teeth
 p i n a s u a r p a l a · r p u g u t !"
 We may then go hunting!"

añajua a·k·a·rpaklune.

The elder sister said no.

"a l e q a · k , a l e q a · k ,
 "Elder sister, elder sister,
 s o · n a v i n u k ?
 What shall we be?
 t u k t o · n a v u g u k — a i t ?
 Shall we be caribou?
 t u k t u ñ · o r u p n u k
 If we become caribou
 n ä ¢ j u k t i ð n u t
 We may with our antlers
 a k i n a s u a r p a l a · r p u g u k — a i t ?"
 Revenge ourselves, may we not?"

añajua a·k·a·rpaklune.

The elder sister said no.

n u k a · t a l e t a m a k · u a n a · j ä t l a l e r a m i g i t :

When the younger sister had named all these (she continued):

"a l e q a · k , a l e q a · k
 "Elder sister, elder sister,
 s o · n a v i n u k
 What shall we be?
 a i v i ñ · u n a v i n u k ?
 Shall we be walruses?
 a i v i u l e r u p n u k
 If we become walruses
 t o · g ä ¢ j ä ð t i n · u t
 We may with our tusks
 a k i n i u s e r l u n u k
 As weapons
 a k i n i a t l a r p a l a · r p u g u k — a i t ?"
 Be able to revenge ourselves, may we not?"

aṇajua a·k·A·rpaklune!
The elder sister said no!

“Aqigjible·
“Of ptarmigan
ijaijōqe·
ijaijoqê!
qulucun̄nik
Backbone
ijaijōqe·
ijaijoqê!
Aqajägtuṇ·ilaṇa
I do not become satisfied
aleqa·k, aleqa·k
Elder sister, elder sister,
so·navinuk?
What shall we be?
kagluṇ·unavinuk — aⁱt?
Shall we become thunder and lightning?
kagluṇ·ōrupnuk
If we become thunder and lightning
iṇniḅtin·ut
We may with our lightning
akiniuserlunuk, akinasuätla-
As weapons revenge ourselves.
la·rpuguk aⁱt?”
May we not?”

aṇajua aṇitlataⁱn·Arpōq!

At last the elder sister said yes!

naluakulun̄migō·q no·kuta^ukulun̄mik

Then they found a piece of unhaired, dry caribou skin, an
papacileramik, ta^upna naluakuluk ulōṇalera·ṇago
outer piece, and this piece of caribou skin crackled and rumbled
niḅliaqat·asialo·m·ät nuka·lo in·ätlune
when it was rubbed, and the younger sister struck sparks with
q u i t l ä t m i g l o. t a g v a i k i c i o r t u a l o · -
firestone and made water. And when they thus began to flash
lermanik asila·^uṇ aṇak·umit erinaliun̄mitlo
lightning there was sure enough a shaman and magic words
taⁱman·A·rquja·^uṇitlutik pi ja·rqu-
that tried to get them to cease, people would not have

j a · u ṇ i k · a l u a r a m i k a ṇ u k t i k
 them do this; but nevertheless they killed their father with
 i k i p · a · t.

lightning.

t a g v a l e q a b l u n a i t q a n i g i j a · n u t u k i u j u i c u m u t

Thereafter they travelled to a land without winter, close to the
 a u d l a r l u t i k t a m a ^u ṇ a u t i a l u k p ä k · a l u a r l u t i k a ^u j a l e r a · ṇ ä t
 white men's land, but even though they return in summer they
 t a g p a v u ṇ a l e u t e r p ä k l u t i k.

always go back (to the land of the whites).

i k i t a n i k t u k t o q a t · a l e r a m i k

When they later began to catch caribou by means of the
 t a i m a s o r o r u ṇ n a i l i ḁ l u t i k i c a r
 lightning they no longer suffered want, and now they are
 n i t a ^u l o · l e r p u t.

very, very old.

Ivaluardjuk.

16.

t u l u g a r ṣ u a r a · l u k q a r ṣ a ^o r l o k a k i n i a l u k t u t.

The raven and the loon who were to tattoo each other.

t u l u g a r ṣ u a r a · l u g o · q q a r ṣ a ^o r l o a g -

It is told, that the raven and the loon were to draw patterns
 l a s i u a l o m r a t a.

on each other.

t u l u g a · l u g o · q q a r ṣ a ^o q k a k i t l a r m a n e

People say that the raven tattooed patterns on the loon
 e r q a n a · E r m a g o. q a r ṣ a · ^u p p e q a n · i l e k a k i s i g i -
 and completed it. And then it was the loon's turn to tattoo his
 ä t l a r i v a ·. a ^u l ä ḁ a r t o r u l u l a · t l a r m ä ṇ o q :

companion. But as the raven kept on moving about (the loon said):

“a n a r f i u v a · l u ṇ m i k k u ^v f e r i t l a l e r a ḁ k i t q i k a r ṣ o · m i l e r i t,

“This shithouse I will push down over you, if you do not stand

m a n i v a k · a l u a r l u n e a ^u l ä ḁ a r t o r u -

still and upright!” Now and then the raven stood as he should, but as

l u l a · l e r m ä t : “a n a r f i u v a · l u ṇ m i k

it kept on moving (the loon said again): “This shithouse I will

k u ^v f e r i t l a l e r a ḁ k i t q i k a r ṣ o · m i l e r i t.”

push over on you if you do not stand still.”

a ^u l ä s ä k · u m a · i n a r m ä t q i k a r s i u m a n a n e

But as it still kept on moving and would not stand still,

as u i l a · ^u η k u ^v f e r s a · ^u l u g i η m a g o p e q a n · e
 well, then the loon sure enough overturned all the turds over his
 k u ^v f e r i l a · r l u g o p i k i a r i a r l u n i l o
 companion, yes, turned it completely over it, but when the raven
 i η · n i a l u η n i g o q t i g u ä t l ä g l u g o
 came up again from the turds, it seized its firestone and flung it
 u k p a t i g i s i g u t m i l o r t a · ⁱ l u g i η m a g o
 and hit the loon over the thighs so that its thigh was put out of
 ukpatine söräcitlugit qut·a^Erlugo, pisugunnaⁱliblunilo
 use, the haunches being crushed; so now the loons are prevented
 q a r z a o q. t a g v a l u g o q t u l u g a r t j u i t
 from walking properly. But — it is said — the ravens indeed
 q e r n e r s e q a l u t i k.
 on that occasion became black.

Ivaluardjuk.

17.

tutukatuk.

Tutukatuk.

t u t u k a t u g o q i l i a r f u k u l o · g a m e q i n u ^v i -

It is told that Tutukatuk was a poor orphan girl, and as she
 l i t ä ^g f a m i n i k k i p i η · u ^v i l i t ä ^g f a m i n i k a j o r f a r a m e
 had nothing to play with and amuse herself with she collected
 i n u ^v k a n i k k a t e r f i g a m e i n u a q ä t · a l e r p o q;
 the tarsal bones of seals and used them as pieces for games;
 t a i m a n · ä k i n u a r s i m a q ä t · a l e r a m e a s i η · n i k
 having thus got into the habit of playing games, she occupied
 i n u ^v k ä t i n o q u t e q a r u η n a ⁱ t l a r p o q.
 herself with nothing else at all than the play-bones.

t a i m a n · ä k a r a j u η · i t a ⁱ l u g i l e r a m i g i t s a k · u c u η -

As she never got tired of playing with them and rattling
 n a ⁱ l i g a m i g i t m a k · u a m a ^o r i a r t u t l o
 them, it ended with her starting to prophesy what would happen
 o q a ^u t i g i v a l e r p a i : “i n u ^v k a m a
 to those that were hunting at the breathing holes: “Which of my
 n a l i ä t n ä ^g s a · r s i t l a r n i a s a · r p o q? k i n a ^u n a
 play-bones will meet with some game? Who is that that will
 n ä t ^s e r s u ^g f a q?” n a l a i c a r t a r t a · l u g i l e r m a g o .
 catch spotted seal?” And it happened that she picked the right one.

t a i m a ⁱ l i o r p a l e r a m e u ^v a n e

In this way she occupied herself, and as she would take nothing

asianik tigufiunnaⁱtlinmät torfoⁿ·e akla^t
 else whatever between her fingers, it ended with her finally starting
 inuarpalermät sanä^garniarlutik ajoqutigiva-
 to play in the passage, so that she was in the way of those who
 lerpa^t. asuila^uñ·o[·]q tainane torfoⁿ·e
 had to work. And sure enough, at last it got so far that she
 siniklarpalerp^oq insertita^ujunnaⁱtlit^h-
 slept in the passage, as she was no longer allowed to come into
 lune .
 the house.

tainane torfoⁿ·e sineqät·alermät
 Afterwards, when she had begun to sleep in the passage
 neriuⁿnaⁱtliv^oq. tarqeriktualo·lermäñ·o[·]q
 she got no food either. One day when it was full moon and
 siniklaler^titlugit inuit, tarqeq tukiñiutiñmät
 people slept, the spirit of the moon came to the opening of
 pa^mut, qimukser^o·q tiki^p·aliktitlar^oq. tiki^p·a-
 the passage; a man with a sledge was heard to come. And when
 liktiñmät taima qaivaliciler^oq pa^muara-
 he had come forward, he began to call for her and when she
 mig^oq ta^ki^guñ^a o[·]qa^utilerpa[·] :
 came to the opening of the passage, he spoke thus to her:
 "tutukatuk inu^vkatit anⁱtlugit an^e·t!"
 "Tutukatuk! Come out and bring your play-bones with you!"

asuila^uñ aniñlune tagvale ikitiñlugo
 So it happened that she went out, and then he placed her on
 añ^erarqulerpa[·] nuna^minu^t
 the sledge and said that she was to accompany him to where he
 ta^gpikuñ^a tarqermut qara^jaqatigi-
 lived, up to the moon, and there she came to live in a side-room
 lerlugo .
 in his house.

Ivaluardjuk.

18.

A r n ä k t A r t o q .

The one who lives again in other beings.

sinaiñulerto·galuar^oq targamane aluñsu-
 It is told that a foetus turned faint in its mother's
 añ^uñlune añiäñugⁱara^me
 womb, and as it emerged as an abortion, the mother con-

q i η m i n u t i g i t a ^u v o q n e r j a ° r q u j a ^u b -
 cealing the event*), it was thrown out to the dogs for them
 l u n e .

to eat it.

q i η m i j o q a t a ^u l e r a m e i n o · g a m e a n i c i j o q a r a · η ā t

In this way it lived together with the dogs, its soul being born
 p a r l a j u k t a r a l u a r l u n e p i b l u ā s · a n a n e
 of a dog, and later when folk threw out refuse, it was among
 E r s i m u t A r n a · t a g o q
 those who fought for it, but never got any real food to eat owing
 o q a ^u t i l e r p a · :

to its timidity. Then its dog-mother said to it:

“a t a g u l e i l i η n i k p i g i n · E r l u t i t p a r l a q a t a ° r p a g i t ,

“Just try not to be so tender-skinned but fight with the others,
 A q a j ā k t o r p ā η n i a r a v i t . ”
 so that later you may have sufficient to eat.”

p a r l a q a t a ° r p a t l a l e r a m i g o · q t a m u a -

Later, when it began to fight properly with the others it got
 v a l e r l u n e a n a · ^u t a m u η · o · q u l o r i a r s a r -
 sufficient to eat.

It told them, that it was no joke to be
 t a j a ^u b l u n e s u j u η n a r t u a l i k .
 threatened with a snow-beater — that made one really angry.
 u p a l u b l u g u g o q a n a ^u j a ^u g u n e
 But, it said, every time it sprang in (to snatch something eatable)
 i p s u l a g u n e t a i m a l e p u ^v i o r -
 and was beaten, it simply shook its coat — and then it was
 l u g o .

forgotten.

t a g v a t a m a k · o n e r f u t i t n a · ^w ā t l i a l e r p a i ,

Thus it went from animal to animal, it became a foetus in the
 s i η a i η u v a g l u n e . n ā t ^s i o q a t a ^u l e r m i g a m i g o · q
 different animals. It lived with the spotted seals, letting itself
 n ā t ^s E r t i g u t i n o · m · i g a m e ,
 be born among these, and then, when men went to hunt
 m a ° l i t l a l e r a · η a t a a g l u m u a r l u t i k
 at the breathing holes and none of the seals were caught, and
 k a t i t l u t i k p i j a ^u η i l e r a · η a t a , a s u i l a ^u η
 when it then happened that the breathing holes nevertheless were

*) a η i a q: The woman concealed her miscarriage in order to avoid the taboo, and thus the foetus became a kind of exiled spirit that had to wander through all animals before it could again become a human being.

n a n i j a ^u η m i g a · η a t a i n o q a r t u m u t
found and then, (the seals) raced to get to a breathing hole where
a · j a ^u t i l e r a · η a m i k :
there was a man, they said:

“i k u η a l e a · n i a r p u η a , i k u η a l e a · g i t !”

“I will go home (to that breathing hole), and you go there!”

i l a η e o q a r p ä k l u t i k : “i m i g f a m i k e q i a g i t l a r -

Then there were some who said: “He won’t bother to give
p a l a · r m a η · a u p a g u m a n · i l a r a !”
me water, so I will not go to him!”¹⁾

a s u i l a ^u η o · q i n u l i k · u t p u g t a l e r a · η a m e

And, it is said, when a seal draws breath at a breathing hole
k u s e r n i u j a r t o r o · q t a · ^u t u g l u g o . a s u i l a ^u η
where there is a man, it catches sight of something that resembles
k u s e r i a r a · η ä t , k u s e r i ä η · u a r a l u a r l u n e k a p i j a ^u g a ·
a drop, and when the drop falls upon it, it is when it is being
η a m e . i l ä η i η o · q a n · e r n a · l u k · a l u a t l u t i k , i l ä η i t a n · e r n a r p a g a t i k .
stabbed. Some men’s harpoons hurt, others do not.²⁾

a m a r q u n e · l e r a l u a r m i g a m e

Then for a time it was among the wolves, but these were
a r n a r n i η · i c u η · o · q , t a m ä f a a m a r q u t ,
animals one was not willingly born among, these wolves, for they
p i s u g u m a f u t n o r q a η a j u η n ä η · i n · a m i k .
always wanted to be on the move and would not lie still and rest.

t u k t o · q a t a ^u l e r a l u a r m i g a m e

And it was also among the caribou, they eat often, and there-
n e r η a j u k · a m i η · o · q t a g v a u η a n a r t u -
fore it is nice to be with them, and they also like taking things
a l u i η · o · q s a l a ^u s u k · a j u k · a m i g l o — i l i m a -
easy; but they have just this disadvantage that they are always
s u k t u a l o · g a m i k t a g v a .
on the move and are so afraid.

¹⁾ They like to present the stories as being capable of explaining things that are hidden to man. It is thus generally assumed that seals will allow themselves to be killed by good hunters who observe their taboos, in fact, that they even call it “going home” when they go to a breathing hole to let themselves be stabbed. Seals are always thirsty because they live in salt water and therefore the good hunters must always set water before a killed seal when they come home. All this knowledge about the seals, say the Eskimos, comes from this story, which is believed in as a kind of revelation that once came to a shaman.

²⁾ By this is meant that the harpoon point, which the hunter always holds ready just over the breathing hole, is regarded by the seals as a drop of water that is about to drip down upon them. The good taboo-observing hunter’s harpoon thrust, which does not hurt when it kills, is regarded by the seals as being the same as going to man for a drink of water. Even death they do not worry about, as they are resurrected in another seal immediately afterwards.

a^uvisqata^ulermigamigɔq tagva, unanartualuinɔq

Then it was a walrus among the walruses; they, too, were
 n e r i g a j u k · a m i k i l i m a s u n m i n a t i g l o ,
 nice to be among; not only did they eat often but they were not
 k u n i ɣ u j u a l o ɔ g a m i n ɔ q t a g v a
 afraid of anything; they were very fond of sniffing at each other,
 p i n a ^u t i t u ä n ä t .
 that was their only amusement.

nerfutiluktait na·gamigit nerfuta·qata^uvaklune,

And so it went through all animals, being an animal itself,
 n ä t ^s e r t a r i n m a g u g ɔ q a n u s u n · i c u a l o p ,
 until once as a spotted seal it was caught by a bad hunter, and
 n u l i ä n a l o q i t o r n i u n n a r a n e , u n a · n a n u k a r -
 into the bargain one whose wife was barren; but all the same it
 l u n e a n e r a ^v f a ^u l e r l u n e . p i l a g i a r -
 went to his harpoon and wanted to "go home". But when it
 m ä n ɔ q , p i n u l e r m ä t a n i b l u n e , e r q u t i n i t l u g u g ɔ q
 was flensed, the soul came out, and thus it came into the house
 i s i t l a r p ɔ q . tagva sinilernialeramik nuliaṇa
 through the harpoon head.*) When they were about to sleep, the
 aniḅlune, tagva u^wime una·ṇa erqutluniuk taiṽuṇa
 wife went out for her husband's harpoon in order to lay it in its
 i l i b l u g o .

special place.

tagvalo sinilermatik siṇaigumalerlune

Later, when they lay down to sleep, the soul of the seal was
 i s e r n i u j a l e r p ɔ q . u n · e r -
 seized with a desire to be a foetus in her and wanted to get into
 f a ^u j a · g ɔ q t i n n e r a r i b l u g o i t i b l a r p ɔ q
 her and finally, it is said, it succeeded in getting in, jumping
 a s u i l a ^u n .
 in over her waistband.

tarqamane·ṇu jalrame qaiṽija^unane.

During the first period it was in there, nobody noticed it.
 a s u i l a ^u n ɔ q q a i ṽ i j a ^u l e r p ɔ q s i ṇ a ^u l e r q a r m e r a n e .
 But later they noticed it when the wife proved to be with child.
 q a i ṽ i j a ^u g a l u a r l u n e s i ṇ a i j ɔ q a n i s · a n a n e
 But when it had been discovered (as a foetus) it remained and

*) When the soul of the seal leaves the body, it spends the night with the harpoonhead that killed it. The harpoon is therefore always put into a special place so that the soul of the seal may have quiet, and its blood must not be wiped off it.

icuartutut in·arpäklune, aninasuaru -
 was content to peep out now and then¹⁾; but then came a time
 mätlerlune tagva asuila^uη·ɔ·q neqa·^Erutilerlunilo,
 when it wanted to get out, it had hardly anything left to eat
 manalo igluata kigliṇa piujuṇertualo·m·ät aniumalerpəq.
 and as the walls of its house were quite destroyed, it *would* get out.
 inualugɔ·q ta^upna anititlarpa·. tagvale upeṛua -
 So it came out as a human being. And you may be sure the others
 lasiu^valo·m·ata anisa·liumagiatlarame anitlarpəq
 became eager and became busy when it wanted to get out, but out
 asuila^uη.
 it came.

asuila^ugɔ·q anitlarame perne -
 But when it got out, there was a draught from the joints (in
 ritligɔ·q tamak·ua ik·e·, ik·^Eriätlarpəɔ·q:
 the snow-blocks of the birth-house) and it was going to say:
 “sujɔɔ·q uṇarqätlarlune!”
 “Huf! huf!” but said instead: “ungâ!”

tagvagɔ·q ɔqariätlarinune uṇa·kätläp·ätlune,
 And every time it wanted to say something it could not say
 ɔqariaraluarlune uṇa·qät·artualo·lerame. aṇuta·gɔ·q una
 anything but: “ungâ, ungâ!” And it is said that the father, who
 taleṛuäṇin·arnik niṇerpäklune,
 never got any other part of the hunting spoils than hind-flipper
 tagvale nulinene kinilermät, natermut
 now that his wife had come into the birth-house (where he was
 inittlune kata^up avatiṇinut tutiḅlune
 not allowed to come), had to sit on the floor and eat astride of the
 nerivaleṛpɔ·q, u^wiṇa
 entrance to the passage. And thus her husband at the passage held
 pa·me uṇuṇuṇaḅlune.
 something over her so that nothing evil came in to the unclean²⁾.

tagvale in·arɔrtualo·m·ät aumar -
 But he grew up and became a young man and was called
 tjuäṇ·ul·erlune.
 Aumartjuaq — “the big ember”.

Ivaluardjuk.

¹⁾ The foetus regards the mother's womb as a house.

²⁾ who are especially susceptible to the visits of wicked spirits. It should be observed that this story is told so clumsily that it has been necessary to translate it rather freely in order to put some meaning into it. It is nevertheless included as being typical, partly in its breaches of grammar, and partly in that the narrator has presumed that all explanations were already known and therefore unnecessary.

*Kivioq.**Kivioq.*

Erñutare·gɔ·q ujarqanik iglɔrɟua-

There was once a grandmother and her grandchild, who lived qartut. niviarsiakuluk Erñuta·at- in a house of stone. The grandchild, a little girl, used to play ball a^ujar tunukarpäm·ät at^ujar tualo·ɟarmata games, for there were many people there, and they used to play inugiaga·luit; erñuta·gɔ·q mitermik atigili- ball games; she had an inner coat of eider duck skin and it kuluk aivägtɔrɔ·q atifane aligtuäñuɟara·ñata. always happened that she came home with her clothes torn.

ilā·n·igɔ·q anim·ät takano·na

Once the grandmother went out and she put a mask on her ima·jarfiñmik·ut Erñutanigɔ·q nät^siaminiup grandchild, one that was made of the face-skin of a spotted seal, ke·naruanik ke·n·erluniuk ima·jarfiñmigut and then she put her down in the lake from which they used to kamigiaramiuk ɔqa^utiva: “nät^siamina·ca·ñ·ɔr- fetch water, and said to her: “You shall become a little spotted lutit at^ujar tūt sa·ñ·agut puiaarasuarit!” seal cub and bob up in front of those that are playing ball!”

asuila·^uñ puialerɔ·q.

And just as she said — she bobbed up.

at^ujar tūt ɔqarpuñ·ɔ·q: “nät^siamina·ciaq,

And those playing together exclaimed: “A little spotted seal, nät^siamina·ciaq!” a little spotted seal!”

qa·namiñnut upatlarput ta^upkua añutit malerɟorniaramik.

And the men ran to their kayaks to hunt the seal. sa·vitlutik malerɟusitlarpa·t, sägva^u- They pushed off from the shore and began to chase it, and the tisitlarpai ta·nuña imarpiñmut. seal led them on far out on the open sea.

nät^siamina·ca·p sägva^utigamigit silaga-na^uñasitlarɔ·q:

Now when the seal cub had drawn them along far out, it cried: “silaga-na·^uñ — uña·?” aχanilugɔ·q itigkanilo “Where is my breath — ungâ?” And then she showed both her nuitlunigit. hands and her feet.

q a i n · a t q a · v i g a m i k · o a ṇ e r a ^u s i t -
When the kayaks understood it (i. e. discovered that it was

l a r p u t . a n ṛ a · l i k ä t l ä k l u n e . q a i n · a n · ṽ ṽ q
not an ordinary seal), they paddled home. It began to blow and
k i ṇ · u t l a r p a l e r p u t . t a ^u p k u a l e q i v i ṽ r e · k
the kayaks began to capsize. The only ones that did not capsize
k i ṇ · u ṇ · i t · u t o · ḅ l u t i k .
were those two, Kivioq and his brother.

k i v i u ^v ṇ · ṽ q q a j a · t a s i v u n i a n u t s a · r ^w a · k u l u k
It is said that a little snipe settled in front of Kivioq's kayak
m i t l u n e , n u k a · l i g ṽ · q k i ṇ · -
(i. e. his protecting amulet), but his brother, who had so far
u ṇ · i s a r t u a l o · ḅ l u n e k i ṇ u t l a t a i n · a r i v ṽ q .
managed not to capsize, now turned over.

k i v i ṽ q k i s e r m i u l e r l u n e s a · r ^w a · k u l o · p ṽ q a ^u t i t l u n i u k :
Kivioq was now alone, and he said to the little snipe:
“q a j a r t ṽ r n i a r p u ṇ a q i b t a · ^E r s e r -
“I will manage in my kayak, and therefore I have summoned you
p a g i t ! ” n u n a t a q ä ṇ · i c u a l o · l e r m ä t
to assist me!” And as he was so far out that there was no land
q a j a r t u t l a l e r p ṽ q .
to be seen he started to paddle in earnest.

k i v i ṽ ṽ q ṽ q ä t l a r p ṽ q : “ n u n a t a ^u v a , e r q a q t a ^u v a ! ”
At length Kivioq said: “There is land! There is solid ground!”
— a · m · a ⁱ l a · n u ṇ u i n · a r i v ṽ q .
— but then it disappeared again.

q a j a r t ṽ r s i m a i n · a t l a l e r a m e a s u i l a ^u ṇ · ṽ q
And when he had paddled a tremendously long time the sea at
ṽ r f u a l i t l a r p ṽ q . ṽ q a r i v ṽ q : “ e r q a q t a ^u v a ,
last became calm. Then he said: “There is solid ground,
n u n a t a ^u v a ! ” a s u a s u g ṽ q n u ṇ u ṇ · i t l a l i s a i n · a r p ṽ q .
there is land!” and this time it did not disappear again.

n u n a l i a t l a r p a l e r a m e a s o n u n a m u t
After he had now paddled a long time towards land he at
t u l ä g l a t a i n · a r p ṽ q . n u n a s a l i a l e r p a ·
length reached the shore. Then he paddled along by the shore.
n o · ṇ n e r ṽ · q a j u l e r i v ṽ q .
It happened then, that he could not move away from the one spot.
t i m · u ṇ · ṽ q q i v i a r a m e i g l ṽ r f u a r ṽ q t a g p i ṇ · a .
When he now looked inwards, he caught sight of a house up there.
t u l ä k · a m e t i m · u ^v f i g i v a · . q a b j ä g t ṽ r ṽ q
So he paddled ashore and went up there. There sat a woman by

pa·mine ino·bηɔ·q niaque pa·ngata silata·
the passage scraping a (human) skin, and it was full of human
n e·r q ä t l a r l u t i k .

skulls outside that had been thrown away.

t a k u g a m i u k p i l e r p a : "iter-
When the woman caught sight of him, she exclaimed: "Go in,
Lutin kamitit iniarinialerpak·a in·itäbnut."
I will dry your kamiks on the drying-rack over my lamp."

i n i a r i l e r p a i . s u j ɔ r ɔ · q u η a · -
She commenced to dry them. And what was it that happened
η i u a · l u k i g l i k · u t n u e r q a t l a r l u n e !
now? A meat fork suddenly stuck up through the platform!

i n u k t ɔ r l u l a v ɔ q : "q a m · a · , k a m · a k · a t i g u j a r -
Then cried the man: "You there outside, come in and take my
tuk·it!" "t i g ɔ r q a · r l u g i t l e i n i ɔ r q a · r -
kamiks!" (The woman spoke): "Before it was I who took them
p a k · a l e t i g ɔ r q a i l i k · i t l e ."
and hung them to dry; now it is your turn."

i l ä η u k u a i n · i c ä t q o · p ä t l a r p ä g s i n · a r -
But there was this (juggling) about it, that the drying-rack
m a t a .
shrank in (and almost disappeared).

"t i g ɔ r q a · r l u g i t l e i n i ɔ r q a r p a k · a l e t i g ɔ r q a i -
(And again said the woman): "Before, it was I who took them
l i k · i t l e ! " i l ä η u n a o · η a η i u t
and hung them to dry, now it is your turn!" And again there
i g l i k · u t n u i t l a r p ä g s i n · a r m ä t .
was a meat-fork that stuck up through the platform.

"t i g ɔ r q a · r l u g i t l e i n i ɔ r q a · r -
(And the witch repeated); "Before, it was I who took them and
p a k · a l e , t i g ɔ r q a i l i k · i t l e !"
hung them up, now you can take them!"

i n n k p i l e r i v ɔ q q i η · a l e r l u n e : "n a n ɔ q
But then the man began to utter magic prayers: "Oh, bear!
o·mak aipratigiartörük kimna!"
Come and eat her out there!"

i l u m · u η · ɔ q a p · a k a t l a r p ɔ q s ä b t u t ɔ r s u i n · a ^u b l u n e , e r ^m η i l a t ɔ r f u i n -
And it really came and broke in, growling and snarl-
a r ɔ q i b n a . t a i m a l e r i a r m ä t a r n a q t a ^u p n a i s e r p ɔ q .
ing. And when it happened, then came the witch in.

"k a m a i t j a k · i k η a · η a · η a , a l e r t e t a k · i k η a · η a · η a ,
(And she cried): "Your boots nângânga, your stockings nângânga,

pinara·tja·k·ik na·na·na." kata^ujugəq qə·jartualom·ät
 your little inner-kamiks nângânga!" The passage opened and closed,
 er^bqariartəq pikiätlasa·rpəq tagvale akun̄it
 and, as it opened, the man sprang out, and it was thus that his
 q o·j u t i p i l u s u n̄ a r l u -
 coat-flap at the back was clipped off (showing how narrow an es-
 g i t.
 cape he had had).

anigame qa·in·aminun̄·arlune ikigame
 And when he got out, he went to his kayak and crawled into
 sa·visimalersəq arnaq ta^upna anivəq.
 it, and just as he pushed off from the shore the old hag came out.
 pilerivəq, pilerivəq: "səq tagva o·min̄a
 She shouted with all her might: "Oh, if I could only flense
 ulörtutlariariḅkit!"
 you with this ulo!"

akiva: "səq tagva matumin̄a agligätlariariḅ-
 He replied: "Oh, if I could only harpoon you with this bladder
 kit!"
 dart!"¹⁾

tagpikuna·lugəq na·kiarun·akätläglune na·kiarmänəq arnarəq
 And he lifted his harpoon and threw it at her with such force
 iksivätlasa·rpəq uluagəq sivanerqatut
 that the old hag sat on her backside, and the ulo which she held
 sequgetrlune tigumiarta.
 in her hand was broken into pieces.

tagvale sikuakätläm·ät aḅquta·lip·əq
 And immediately thin ice formed, and the road was closed to
 ta^upna qajartərtəq. taman·a sikuag mikilerqaminut
 the kayakman. So with his ring-finger he drew a line over this
 titarpa. ta i m a i l i n̄ m ä t a·j o r q e r l u n e
 thin ice. And when he had done that, he paddled on in his kayak
 qajartulerpəq.
 without hindrance.²⁾

ilane timut qiviarivəq am̄a
 Later he again looked towards the land and once more caught
 iglörjuag takugiva. timuglune iglup
 sight of a large house. So he paddled to the shore and peeped

¹⁾ Note, that in this story appear both winter houses of stone (in the middle of summer!) and a bladder dart, though neither of them are known among the present tribe. Likewise, the men paddling kayaks on the sea and seals are hunted from the kayak.

²⁾ It is said that the winter-ice came from this troll-woman's ulo; before then the sea was always open.

aŋmaʃuata igalaga gut icu arivɔq
 in through the window and again saw an old hag scraping a
 ma'qjāgtualugɔq a·m·a: "sumik sumik ta·r-
 (human) skin, and she said: "Why, but whence does a shadow fall
 pa·ŋa?" qablunanigɔq tigubluniuk nakatlugo
 over me?" And she seized her eyebrow (cut off her eyelid and)
 tamuava. qimāgluniuk ikigiɓlune qain·aminut.
 chewed it. Thereafter he left her and got into his kayak again.
 sa·v i n·a m e q a j a r t u l e r i v ɔ q
 He pushed off from land and paddled, and as suddenly he again
 no·c u ŋ n a i l i m · i g a m i g ɔ q t i m · u t
 was unable to get away from one spot, he looked in towards land
 qiviarivɔq, iglɔrfuarɔq a·m·a. ɔ r n i k · i v a ·
 and — yes, there, too, was a large house. He went up to it and
 pa n i g e · ŋ · ɔ · q q i ʃ u a r ʃ u k u l u ŋ m u t
 met there a mother and daughter and they had a piece of drift-
 u v i s u g l i t .
 wood for a husband.

pa n i a n e s i n i s i g i a r p ɔ q . u n · u ā ŋ · ɔ r -
 He laid himself to sleep with the daughter. When it became
 māŋɔq ta^upna qifuarʃukuluk ne·rqulɔqat·arɔr-
 night the lump of wood creaked incessantly (i. e. he was lying with
 ʃuin·aq.
 his wife).

qa^uŋmāt panige·k qifuarʃuakuluk ake-
 When day came, mother and daughter took the piece of drift-
 rarlunik·o imanut ta'nun̄a agsarpauk. sa·vitlune ta^upna
 wood and placed it out into the sea. It drifted out, and later,
 tikilerpɔɔq nāt^siaminernik maruŋnik.
 when it came back, it had two young spotted seals with it.

usiɓlune panige·t atunit agsarluk·ik qifuar-
 Mother and daughter hastened to carry them up and later to
 ʃukuluglo tim·o·tlugo. ta^upnale kiviɔq ugʃunmik
 bring the piece of driftwood in. But Kivioq came home with a
 usiɓlune tiki·ivɔq, un·uāŋ·ɔrmätlo paniane·tlune.
 bearded seal, and when night came, he lay with the girl.

qa^uŋmiŋmāt a·m·a qifuarʃukuluk ta'nun̄a
 When day came again, they again carried the piece of drift-
 i m a · n u t a g ʃ a r i v a · t . i l i g i w a · t ,
 wood with them. They placed it in the water and it drifted
 sa·vinivɔq. u s i g i ɓ l u n e t i k i n · i v ɔ q p a n i g e · k
 out to sea. Again it came back with something, and mother and
 u^wisugtik a·m·a agʃariva·^uk.
 daughter again brought their concubine husband up.

kiviorle tikiñivōq teqikluñmik usiñlune.

But Kivioq also came back with a young bearded seal.
 pania ta^upna nuliari lera miuk
 He now had the daughter for his wife, but this time the mother
 arna[·]erfunniarlugo tim[·]otigiarpa[·]
 carried his catch up to the house.

malugilerpa[·]gō[·]q kiñōrarulue sajuktut,

Now he noticed, that her legs trembled (under the weight) and
 suna^uvfa^unagō[·]q pan[·]e siñ[·]agalugo toqusi-
 now it appeared that out of envy she had killed her daughter and
 maga[·]auktōrluniuglo ke[·]na[·] atiñluniuk ta^up[·]fu-
 flayed her and put on the skin of her face on account of her
 miñ[·]a u^wita[·]rumagaluarlune. qa[·]viga mi[·]gō[·]q
 desire to have him for her husband. When he saw that
 kiñōrai sajuktōrulo[·]m[·]anik qima[·]n[·]arpa.
 her body trembled, he left her.

qa[·]jartōrpalerivōq, nutarqāñ[·]ō[·]q

Again he started out in his kayak and went ashore where
 qitiktut tiniñnerme tim[·]u^vñgiva[·]i, suñ[·]a[·]anigō[·]q anō[·]ra[·]qar-
 some children were playing on the beach and who had dresses of
 tut. ilāñit anō[·]ra[·]erlunigit qima[·]n[·]arlugit.
 beads. He took the dresses from some of them and left them.

nunane ilitarileramiuk tim[·]usigiāt[·]larpōq

When he recognised his village he paddled inwards and his
 a[·]k[·]ja[·]i a[·]k[·]ja[·]ialermāñ[·]ō[·]q, taku[·]g[·]arō[·]r-
 hands were nearly gone (with fatigue) and when he became visible
 māñō[·]q nulia pilerivōq: “u^wi[·]ga[·]le
 (from in there) his wife exclaimed: “It is my husband alone whose
 k[·]i[·]s[·]i[·]m[·]e a[·]k[·]ja[·]i[·]la[·]va[·]g-
 hands are going away!” (with fatigue, because he always used to
 pō[·]q.”
 paddle far out).

inuit pileriva[·]t: “u^we[·]t imna qañale ino[·]juñna[·]ertōq!”

People said to her: “Your husband has long been dead!”

kiuvai: “u^wi[·]ga[·]le a[·]k[·]ja[·]ila[·]va[·]gpōq.”

But she replied: “It is my husband, since his hands are tired.”
 tagvale u^wiminit tikiñ[·]eqalita[·]n[·]arivōq nunar-
 Thus her husband at last came home to her again, and he distri-
 gatino suñ[·]a[·]janik a^vguarta[·]lugalugit.
 buted beads to his fellow-villagers.

Naukatjik.

ka·bjäkjuk.

Kâgsagssuk.

ka·bjäkjukꞑꞑ nukakpiakulo·ðlune tərfo·n·e sinik-
It is told that Kâgsagssuk when a little boy used to sleep in
p ä m · a t . a r n a m i t m a r u ñ n i t a ñ i j u a l o · n · i t
the passage. And there were two big women, who made the
m a n u a r t i k p ɔ r t u s i l e r l u g o
entrance from the passage to the inside of the house high so that
q i ñ a ñ i t i g u t k a ^u b l u n i k · o t o · g ä ^a f a m u t
he could not crawl in himself, and so they used to drag him in,
n u s u k p ä k t a ^u v ɔ q .
putting narwhale tusks into his nostrils.

i t e r t i t a r a · ñ a m i k · o q a r l i ñ m i ñ n i k
And when they wakened him (in the morning), they gave him
m i k i k · i l e r ^t p ä k l u k · o k a · g i n · a · l u ñ m i k k i g e r · t i p · ä k l u n i k · o
their under-trousers to champ and walrus hide to chew. And when
k i g i a n i k · a · ñ ä t a n i s i p · ä k l u k · o .
he had finished chewing, they chased him out.

a s u i l a ^u g ɔ q u n · u a k · u t s i n i l e r m i t i t l u g i t
But it came about one day, that at night after people had gone
t a r q a m a t ɔ r l u l a j a ^u v ɔ q :
to rest, there was a voice outside that cried:

“ka·bjäkjuk, an·e·t!”

“Kâgsagssuk, come out!”

a k i v ɔ q : “ a n i u ñ · n ä ñ · i c u ñ a , a k i j a · r j u a l u k ,
He answered: “I cannot come out, you go out, Akijärjualuk!”
a n i ñ a · r i t .”
(a dog name).

“ka·bjäkjuk, an·e·t!”

“Kâgsagssuk, go out!”

“ q i p a ^o r u a l u k , a n i ñ a · r i t !”

“You go out, Qipaorrualuk!” (again a dog name).

“ka·bjäkjuk, an·e·t!” a s u i l a ^u ñ a n i ð l u n e .

“Kâgsagssuk, go out!” And then at length he went out.

t a ^u p f u m a a n e r q u f i f u p
And the one who had asked him to come out took him over
q a m u t i m i n u k a ^u t i ð l u n i u k p i ñ u v ä t l u g o
to his sledge and began to beat him with a dog-whip, and he
t e · g a r p ä k l u n i u k i g l u t t i m a · n · u t
dragged him round behind the house still beating him with the

iŋerlatiḅluniuk te·gar p ä k l u g o
 whip, and knocked him down, and when they came to a place
 piŋuŋarlugulo ujarqät tikiŋ·amik·it
 where stones were lying about, the stranger demanded that he
 makperserquḅluniuk te·gar iḅlugo. am·a
 should tear these up, beating him all the time. And this he
 aŋerqiŋanik ujarqamik makperserquḅluniuk
 continued to do, ever making him tear bigger stones up and at the
 te·gaŋarilerlugo. ke·sa ujarasuk-
 same time hitting him with the whip. At last he could pull
 jualunmik makpersigiblune.
 up quite a big piece of rock.

ta^upŋuma aŋerquŋiŋup oqa^utiva·:
 Now spoke he who had called him out, saying to him:
 “ubla·kut taima nan·ut piŋajərqät tikitjuma·rpun,
 “Early in the morning three bears will come, you must then
 ilatit tərLəruma·rpatin nan·eqerquḅluŋit.”
 waken the others and say that they must hunt bear.”

ubla·kut asuila^uŋ nan·ut piŋasut tikivut.
 And sure enough! In the morning three bears came.
 il ä ŋ ne t o r l o r p a i . a n i ḅ -
 And he cried in through the window to his housemates. And they
 lutiŋ nan·eqilerlutiŋ.
 came out and began to hunt the bears.

pilervut: “ka·bjäkjuk na^uk ipna? u^werifa^u-
 Then they cried: “Where is this Kâgsagssuk? He is worth
 ti^gŋatuiŋ·Aq pium·iŋsa^utig^gŋa-
 no more than that he can be used as bait, and worth no more than
 tuiŋ·Aq!”
 that they attack him!”

ka·bjäkjuk anigivəq i^mŋilerlune: -
 Then Kâgsagssuk came out and sang:

“u^werija^utlaleritse

“Fling yourselves on your bait

pium·iŋja^utlaleritse

Come on — fling yourselves upon me!

u^werija^utigŋatuiŋ·Aq

I am worth no more than that I am used as bait

pium·iŋja^utigŋatuiŋ·Aq

I am worth no more than that people attack me

pivätlerpuŋa

I am ready

pivätlerpartlerpuṇa
 I am quite ready
 u^werija^utlaleritse
 Fling yourselves on your bait
 pium·ija^utlaleritse!"
 Come on — fling yourselves upon me!"

inuṇmiglo naluksigiḅlune nanumut naluta^utquta^uḅlune.
 And to the bears he threw a man, whom they killed.
 amra naluksigivṭq, tṭquta^uṇminmät iner-
 And again he threw a man, and when he too had been killed
 terutilerput kabjäkjōḅlo aṇaju a
 they began to scold Kâgsagssuk, but just then his brother
 tikitlune.
 came (on a visit).

tikis·imalermät qäχjilerlutik.
 And when he had come, they began to hold a song-feast.
 kabjäkjōḅ arnät ta^upko maruk nu-
 Then Kâgsagssuk got the two women (who had tormented him) as
 liarilerlunigit niṇarivalerlunigit, tukleruti-
 his wives, and he often scolded them. He made himself a tuklerut
 ta^urlune iklermut nātlariaraṇame kabjäkjuk pilerara³q:
 of a walrus tusk, and he used to lie down on the platform and say:
 "tuklerute·kak kakiṇaṇilaq."
 "Are not my tuklerutik hard?"

"kakiṇaṇrput," pa^utläglutik nuliṇṇisa qalagiarlunik^o,
 "Truly, they are hard", said the wives both together, and the
 kiṇugliuḷṭq niṇarivākluniuk.
 one who answered last was beaten.

ilaṇe qäχjileramik kabjäkjuk sākva^urlune mumiler-
 Once, when they were holding a song-feast, Kâgsagssuk stepped
 lune niḅlerlune:
 forward and sang:

"ka^uvalunṇit
 "Walrus hide
 kutjija^uväksin·artuṇa
 They made me chew!
 qarlia^ulo·n·ik
 Filthy under-trousers
 iχuarpäksin·artuṇa."
 They made me champ!"

tagvalo arnät qialerlutin, aniajualo·lerlutin
 Then the women began to cry, and people rushed out of the

aṇaḡua matɔ·ruʃ·a^uḡlune tɔrlu-
passage, and the brother was admitted to the house and said in a
lavɔq: “qɔr^wiṇmik qaɪcɪʃɔqarLe!”
loud voice: “Let a piss-pot be brought to me!”

terɪaq at·atane quigame qɔr^wiṇmut
And he made water and started to wash an ermine, that
ERɔrtulerluniuk. om·arm ät aniti-
was his amulet, in the pot. And when it became alive, he let it
p·a·.
loose.

am·aro·jalermata terɪʃ·äp atige·sa
They had begun to play the wolf game, when they caught sight
ilu atigut pulaga·ṇamigit qutuisigut
of the ermine, but it crawled in under their inner-coats and killed
aṇmarlugit tɔqusa·riʃarlugit.
them, biting its way into them at the collar-bone.

amɪʃuṇɔq tɔquta^ulermata pilerivut:
It is said that when many had been killed there was a cry:
“ka·bjäkjɔrna·p aṇajuata piva·tigut. a·te·
“It is that stupid Kâgsagssuk’s brother that is over us. Let us
ipna anitita^uniarLe!”
rather see and get him out!”

asuila^uṇɔq tɔqusaɪjuṇna^{Er}put kabjäkjuglo
And sure enough — the killing ceased — but now Kâgsagssuk
piʃ·akteqalunë.
was a strong man.

nuṇugivɔq.

This is the end of it.

Naukatjik.

21.

navarana·q.

Navaranâq.

navarana·rɔ·q er^tqiliṇnik tiguäṇuḡlune
It is told that Navaranâq was an adoptive child among the In-
er^tqile·t niṇ·ägsa·rpäklunigit inuit tɔqun·iar-
dians, and there she used to excite the Indians to make them kill the
matigik. anɔrigɔ·q nigerparm ät inuit
Eskimos. She had let them know that when it was southwest, the
ma^ulerput.
men were out hunting at the breathing holes (and the women there-
fore alone in the houses).

navarana^aq audlarlune ilaminuarama ɔqarpɔq:
 Once Navaranâq visited her village and there she said:
 “kana^mŋa ipkua anɔra·lera·ŋat aŋutitait
 “When the wind blows out from the sea and inwards, the men are
 nɔrqarpäktut.”
 usually at home.”*)

tagvale inuit Arnartait Er^tqiliŋnit ɔrniga^uler-
 So it happened that the Indians made their way to the Eski-
 lutik. igala·ŋe tikitlugjuk Arnaⁱn·ait
 mos’ women. They got up to their windows and, after having
 igalaŋerlugit kapuarilerlugit tagvai
 taken the windows out, struck down the women who were alone.
 iläŋita ɔqɔrutitik ikititlugit a·m·a
 But there were some of those whose windows had also been taken
 igala·rtai gißlutik. puɔrmut iläŋata
 away who set fire to their sleeping-rugs. None of them could be seen
 takuneq ajuleramigit tapsiktuler-
 for smoke for the houses were full of fumes (from the burning
 lune, ta^uva iläŋata inuit
 deer skins), and then there was one of the Eskimo women who
 kubluagut keßlarpa· kublua qaɔʁluniuk tɔqutlugo.
 bit one (an Indian) in the thumb; she bit it off and killed him.
 a·m·a iläŋät sitikmut ijerlune
 But another of the women fled into a kennel for a bitch with
 pa·ne matußlugo. Er^tqile·t tɔqufai-
 pups and closed the door after her. When the Indians had
 nik·amik aŋera·lerlutik.
 finished killing, they returned to their homes.

aŋutit tikeramik nuliartik kiŋɔraleramitjuk
 Then, when the men returned and did not find their women,
 audlarlutik iglut saŋanuarlutik nɔrqaramik tɔrlulavut:
 they went a little way from the houses, stopped and shouted:
 “navarana·rtaqan·ilase?”

“Is Navaranâq not here?”

“tagva, tagva!” — sa·n·utlo udlasißlune.

“Here, here!” (she answered) — and ran over to them.

*) Here, as so often is the case, the narrator departs from both meaning and logic, supposing that the theme of the story is so well known that he is, if anything, indifferent as to what he says. The meaning is that Navaranâq told the Indians that whenever there was a southwesterly wind, conditions were favourable for an attack upon the Eskimo villages, for then the men were absent and the women alone at home. On the other hand the men usually stayed at home when a westerly wind was blowing, as this might break the ice.

t i k i ŋ m a t i k t a s i o r t a ^u l e r l u n e t a l i ŋ e

When she came to them, they seized her by the hands and
n a k a t a u b l u t i k . t a ^m a i l e r m a n e n a v a r a n a ^q i ^m ŋ i l e r -
chopped off her arms. When this had been done to her, Navara-
l u n e :
nâq sang:

“ta^ulugjuit

“People

t a l e · a r p a · ŋ · a

Have torn off my arms

inulugjuit

People ·

t a l e · a r p a · ŋ · a

Have torn off my arms

p i l a ^u t a ·

His knife

i p e r ^t q u i l a q ! ”

Was sharp!”

p a · t l ā k · a m i l o m a k i s a · r a n e .

Then she fell on her face and rose no more.

a ŋ e r a r l u t i k i n u i t a ŋ e ^r a l a · r

But the men went home, and after having been at home
L u t i k a m r a o r n i k · i b l u g i t . m a n e -
for a while they again started on their way (to the Indians)
R a m e t o q u ŋ a · r t u t t i k i n · a m i k · i k t a r t u n a i t i g u t
and found (some of) them lying on the ice, pretending to be dead;
a k t u a r ŋ u g k a · ŋ a t i k t o q u ŋ ā ŋ · u a s e r t u t u t
so they took them by the groin, those who pretended to be dead,
s a ŋ u ā t l ā k · a · ŋ a t a k a p i v ā k l u g i t t o q u ŋ a ŋ · u a r t i t l u g i t ,
and when they then wriggled, they stabbed them and killed them,
k e · s a i n a i t n u ŋ u t a ^u g i v u t . n u t a r a i ŋ ā ŋ · o r m a t a
they killed all the grown-ups. When only children were left,
a ŋ e r a ^u t i s i g i a r l u g i t p i s u k t i n · i a r i a r -
they took these home with them. They made them walk, and
L u g i t t a q a j a r a · ŋ a m i k : “ n i u k a k ,
when they became tired, they used to say: “My (tired) legs, my
n i u k a k , k i ŋ u l i ^v t i n e t l e
legs, when we broke camp we never used to journey (further) than
a u d l a p a j u j u g u t i n · i s i a t a r p ā k l u -
that we could fetch fire,” (from those who had stayed behind at
t a . ”
the old camp.)

q a s u n e r m i t q i a l e r a · η a t a i -
 When they then began to cry with fatigue, they hacked them
 k o · t a r t a r i v a g l u g i t . t a g v a g o q o m i l a r -
 to death with their stone axes. And those that cried were given
 t u a p e t a m · a r j u ā t l ā g t a r a · η a t a q a · v i t i s i v i s a · l i t l a .
 mortal wounds in this way, that their foreheads were cleft.
 t a i m a n u t a r q ā t t o q u f a " η u g i b l u t i k m a r u i n · a " l e r l u t i k
 Thus all the children were killed until there were only two left,
 t a " p k u a a n i g e t t i k i u t i v a i t n u n a m i n η n u t
 a girl and her elder brother; these they took with them to their
 t i g u ā η u l e r l u t i k .
 village as adoptive children.

a η i l e r a m e a n i a t u " a η u l e r l u n e ,
 When they grew big, and the brother was almost full-grown,
 i l a · n · e q i η m i m i k t a · v o · n a p i s u k t u m i k
 it happened once that he was requested by an old man to shoot
 u t o r q a · l u η m i k p i s i " f a q u f a " l e r p o q ,
 with his bow a dog that was walking some distance away, and as
 p i u m a η · i l e r l u n e :
 he would not, because he was afraid (that the owner of the dog
 " u g j e r i f a " t l a r p a η · i l a q p i t i t u -
 would be sorry) it was said: "No one will be sorry about it! Just
 i n · a r u k ."
 you do it!"

a s u i l a " η t i l i o r t a " g i n · a l æ r a m e p i s i k l u n i u k .
 And so he shot it, as he was still asked to do.
 p i s i a n i k · a m i u k u d l a s i b l u n e q i m a l e r l u n e t o r l u l a " r t a " g a l u a r l u n e :
 And when he had shot it, he ran away though they called to him:
 " a s u g o · r η a t o · t e q ā η · i η m ā t u g j e r i f a " t j ā η · i c o q !"
 "Nobody is sorry about this, for it was of no use anyhow!"
 t a g v a l o q i m a s i f o q a η u n e q ā η · i t a " n · a l e r p o q .
 But no one overtook the one who fled.

Qungautatlorigjoq.

*) There is reason here for drawing attention to the fact that the narrator in this case has mixed up *three* stories, viz. the story of Navaranâq's betrayal and the Indians' attack upon the Eskimos, then a part of the only story that deals with a hostile encounter between Inuit and Tunit; and finally, another independent survival of how a Tuneq killed a dog, not as here described with bow and arrow, but with a spear that was thrown by means of a kick.

ARNARQUÄ^gJAQ nanumik tigualik.

The old woman who had a bear.

ARNARQUÄ^gJAQ nanumik tig^uARPQ perorsi-
 There was once an old woman who had a bear as foster-child,
 ARI^bLU^gO. nanor^oQ aglivatli^aERNERME
 and she reared it. When it was growing up the bear used to play
 NUTARQANE qITERATA^uVAGTQ nanun^oTLUNILO
 together with the children, pretending that it was the play-bear in
 NUTARQÄT pa^uQ^uARPÄKLUGIT.
 the bear-game, and as such it crawled after the children.

iniⁿmiⁿmÄN aⁿilermiⁿmÄN neqisiga^ublune
 It became full-grown and it was big, and the people wanted
 to^oQUTA^uJUMAVALE^rPQ.
 its flesh and they wanted to kill it.

tigu^wARSINAGQ ARNARQUÄ^gJAQ inor^oQU^bLU^gO
 But the foster-mother, the old woman, wanted it to live, and
 qI^aVALE^rPQ.
 she often wept.

pi^aJA^uJUMAⁿARILE^rMÄT audlar^qULE^rPA.
 When at last people began to think seriously of killing it, the
 aud^aLARI^aAME nan^uP tigu^wARSINE
 foster-mother wanted it to run away. When it went away, the bear
 o^oQA^uTI^aLE^rPA: "ka^aLERUNIG^oQ tara^jo^oQ
 spoke thus to its foster-mother: "When you suffer want walk along
 sinerak^lugo, nanumig^oQ takujaraⁿame qo^oquar^pÄⁿiar^pai."
 by the open sea and when you see a bear, you must call to it."

ka^aLERAMI^go^oQ tara^jo^oQ siner^aLE^rPA.
 When she began to suffer want, she walked along by the sea.
 nanumig^oQ taku^gAME qo^oquar^pÄⁿ pug^tarmet^umik.
 When she saw a bear on an ice-floe, she called to it.

nanor^oQ tus^aAME qima^si^vo^oQ. nanor-
 When the bear heard it, however, it ran away. And every
 si^aARAⁿAME qo^oquar^pÄⁿKLUGIT qima^vAKLUTIK.
 time she saw a bear, she called to it — but they always ran away.
 nanor^siⁿmi^gAME qo^oquarⁱVA.
 Then once when she again saw a bear, she called to it.

naⁿERSIGAMI^go^oQ nanor^oQ pe^qatigij^aNE
 It is said that it rose up on its hind legs and went up to ano-
 orⁿIKPA. tikiⁿAMI^uK pa^pERPA,
 the bear that was near. When it got there, it flung itself upon

təqun·amiuk tim·utiva· nunamut pisin·ARLugo qimāklugulo
 it, killed it, and dragged it ashore and there it left it lying without
 tigu^warsinigəq tikitiginago qimain·ARLugo ta'nunəi-
 letting its foster-mother come up with it — it left her and went
 n a v ə q .
 out to sea.

ta^upnağəq ARNARquā^gJA·q nan·ulerpəq alianaigija^u.
 Thus, it is said, the old woman got a bear and all were
 l E r i v ə r ə q .
 pleased with her.

t u ^w a · g ∫ A r a l u A r t i k l i g əq
 And it is told that this is how it was that the one who might
 a u d l a i v a · t p i u m a k -
 have been provider for the village (i. e. the bear) had to go away
 l u ^g ∫ u k .
 because people wanted to kill it.

Inugpasugssuk.

23.

niniərquā^gJA·q aṇutiṇ·ərtəq.
The old woman who became a man.

ERṇUTAREṇəq t a · ^u p k u a q i m ā t · a · -
 There was once a grandmother and her grandchild, who had
 m i n i k . t a g v a p i m a j e q a ṇ · i l e r a m i k
 been left behind alone. As they had no provider and the grand-
 ERṇuta· u^winigtuin·ARIAqalermāt ta·^upna ERṇuta·ta
 child had reached the marriage age, the grandchild's grandmother
 niniṇa aṇutiṇ·ərasusivəq tarqum·imik
 turned herself into a man, making herself a penis out of her lamp
 usugta·RLune ikpiarfūṇminik igfugta·RLune
 trimmer and testicles from her work bag and a sledge of her
 ut·u·ṇminik qamutita·RLune, anara·ṇame
 genitals, and when she was attending to the call of nature she
 EQo·timinik qiṇmerta·RLune oṇaṇium·inik
 made dogs out of what she wiped her behind with, and out of
 u n a · r t a · r l u n e .
 her meat fork she made a harpoon.

qimukSERpaklune aṇunasisualo·m·āt tikik·a·ṇame
 She used to drive out, and she hunted, and when she came home,
 qamutiṇne nap·arpaklugit qajarta·RLunilo.
 she set up her sledge on end (as men do); and she got herself a kayak.

a s u i l a ^u η · ɔ · q t i k i t a ^u t l a r p ɔ q n i η i u η a

And then it happened that a stranger came to the place one
n o · s i m a j ɔ q k i η ɔ r a r l u g o .
day, when the old woman was out, and so did not find her at home.

t i k i j i η a t a l o e r η u t a · a p e r f u t l a l e r p a · :

And then the visitor began to question the grandchild:
“k i a q a ^v k o q a m n t i η e ? ” “ a n a · n ä c i a r m a ! ” “ k i a q ^v k o
“Whose is that sledge outside?” “My grandmother’s!” “Whose are
q i η m i η e ? ” “ a n a · n ä c i a r m a ! ” “ k i a q a ^v n a q a j a · ? ”
those dogs?” “My grandmother’s!” “Whose is that kayak out there?”
“ a n a · n ä c i a r m a ! ” “ k i a s i η a i l e r s ɔ r -
“My grandmother’s!” “Who has begotten a child with you, since
m a t i t s i η a ⁱ v i t ? ” “ a n a · n ä c i a r m a ! ”
you are with child?” “My grandmother!”

s u l e t a g v a n e · t i t l u g o t a ^u p n a t i k i n · a m e

While the stranger was still there, the grandmother came home
i s i l e r p ɔ q q i η m i n e a · n · i k a t l ä ^g p a k l u n i g i t .
and went in, striking her dogs now and then so that they howled.
i t i l e r a m e t a k u g i a r a m e i t e r s i m a j u m i k
When she came in and saw that there was a visitor, she again
n i η i ɔ r q u a k a t l ä ^g t u a l o · m · ä t : “ e r η u t a r f u a p i k u b v a
became an old woman (and said): “Grandchild, come and help
q i l u η a ! ”

me up!”

e r η u t a · t a q i l u ɖ l u n i u k n i η i ɔ r -

Thus her grandchild now had to go and help her up, for she
q u a r t ɔ r u l o · m · ä t s ɔ r ɔ r m ä t .
had now become a very old woman who could not help herself.

Ivaluardjuk.

II.

Division of the year into moons.

qaṇātarsaṭ: the one of them (the moons) where it begins to rise (over the horizon, i. e. the sun); corresponds almost to February.

a^wunen: that in which births come too early (i. e.: among the seals); corresponds to March, in which month many stillborn and frozen seal-cubs are found in the cubbing holes of the seals in snowdrifts among the ice hummocks.

nāṭsiḡfāt: cubs of spotted seal; corresponds to April, when the seals normally give birth to their cubs.

teriḡluit: the young saddlebacks; corresponds to May, when out at the edge of the shore ice young saddlebacks begin to appear in the open water.

nōraṭ: the caribou calves; corresponds to June, when the caribou cows appear with their calves.

man'eṭ: the eggs; corresponds to the end of June and the beginning of July, when the birds lay their eggs.

saṭarut: the one in which the coat becomes thin (on the caribou); corresponds to August, because during the month of July the caribou have moulted and now have the thin, stiff coat that makes the skins especially valuable for clothing.

akuglerut: the middlemost one, (i. e. with reference to the coat of the caribou); corresponds to September, when their coats become thicker and the hair so long that they are most suitable for skin clothing for the coldest period of the year.

ameraṭjaṭ: the one in which the skin falls off (i. e. the antlers of the caribou); corresponds to October when the thin "velvet" (ameraq) covering the antlers peels off.

ukiulerat: the one in which winter begins; corresponds almost to the end of November.

Aua gave me these names of the moons and wished to take February as the first, because in that month one sees the light returning and has the inner feeling that one is approaching light and spring.

The reason he advanced was: "This is when we Iglulingmiut begin our new year."

He knew no particular sign for December and January. He called them simply: ukiup tatqe i. e. winter's moons. These two moon periods, he said, resemble each other in that they are dark, cold, and hunting in them is difficult, so that they did not need any special designation.

III.

Vocabulary.

The words in [] indicate the corresponding words in Greenlandic.

- aba [neriʃägʃaq] food
 aʔba [näcerʃuaq] bladder-nose seal
 agleraq [nerivik] table
 aʃʃiorpəq [aʷviliörpəq] cooks walrus meat
 aʒvaq [qaʔq] underlayer skin on a platform
 agialitörpa [tagialitörpa] rubs it to dust
 agiaq [agiut] file
 aʒäk [aʃʃak] hand
 aʷvəq [aŋerlarpəq] go home
 aʔka [naʒa] no
 akaŋilaq [picaʷŋilaq] is not good, of no use
 alägʃaʷjaʔrtəq [qajoʃät] flour
 alilajəq [papʲara] (Thule: tit-agäʃʃaq) paper
 aloʔt [aluʷʃaʷt] spoon
 aʷmilaʷŋ [ilumut] truly! assuredly!
 anaʷnaʷluk [aʷnaq] grandmother
 anaʷnäciaq [aʷnaq] grandmother
 anio [aputautitäʃʃaq] snow that is brought in from a drift to be
 melted into water
 anicaʔrpa [anicaʷliʷa] takes care that he does not come out
 anöraʔq [qulicaq] caribou skin coat; (anöraʔq is now used every-
 where in Greenland for a corresponding coat of cloth)
 anuʃuʷŋicəq [anusuicəq] one who never makes a catch
 anuʔtigʃaʷlerpəq [kamalerpəq, also in North Greenlandic: anutaʷʃaʷ-
 lerpəq] beginning to be angry (really: beginning to act
 as if he were a grown man)
 asia [aʷla] another
 asiuvəq [tamʲarpəq] becomes lost; (in Greenland asiuvəq means: be
 wasted)
 asuartörpəq [arnerivəq] gives himself to women

asuila^uη [asumiŋəq] practically untranslatable, the nearest is: and then naturally! surely enough!

aterpəq [sikuliarpəq] go out on the ice (aterpəq means in Greenlandic: descends)

atige(q) [ilugleq] (Cape York: atigit or ate-) inner coat, worn next to the skin

atqarpəq [aglərpəq] dives under the water

atqeŋŋmiga· [arqarfiga·] go down to him

ato·t [piŋeq] a song

a^umaliərsərfik (really: the place where one gathers embers) [kiŋ·ar-ŋə·t] an oven

a^utaⁱlimavai [avi^gsa·rtaiⁱlivai] prevents them from being separated

ava·ga or ava·giva· [isumaga·] thinks of him with food

aqajä^gtərpəq [qar·sitlarpəq] becomes satisfied (with food)

aq'qa· [atago] yes, let us see, let us try

a·quä^gfa·luk [arnarquä^gfa·q] an old woman, crone

aqūp·əq [piniarpəq] go hunting

arna^uηa or arna^ərηa [nulia] his wife

arnägpəq (also known at Thule) rise again in another form; (really: come to mother, i. e. be born)

arŋä^gŋaq (really: something that is to turn to ashes) [a^umarŋuaq] (South Greenland), [a^umaro·ti^gŋät] (North Greenland), [kig-lumineq] (Thule) coal

arŋät (really: ashes) [pa^uŋŋät] gunpowder

erinalio·t [serät] magic prayer or magic word (erinaq means in Greenl.: voice, melody)

erinaliərpəq [seravəq] utter magic words or magic prayers

ermiut [qaqərsa^ut] soap; (ermiut means in Greenl.: a sponge, really: something for washing the face)

erŋuseq [te·tərfik] tea-cup; (erŋuseq means in Greenl.: a bottle)

er^tqut [igala·p sina·] window frame

igjəraq [palase] priest

igtaqigik [iserpa·k] the two went in to them

iʒe·la^əq [iʒe·ŋ·artəq] one who is hoarse

iʒiak·əq [iʒiaq ərfu·t] store of blubber, preserved in an animal's throat pouch

ije [ife] eye

iⁱerta^umajəq [tərqərtaq] something hidden

ijuk·arpəq [nak·arpəq] falls down

ikpiartjuk [pəq] bag, sack

iksiva^utaq [igsiavik] chair

iläksa^ut [qapuk] froth, yeast

ilāṇ·arqaiṭut [təqʊfəqarqam·ərsut] those among whom there has recently been a death

ilerasugqəq [it·ərpəq] embarrassed; (ilerasugpəq means in Greenlandic: has a bad conscience)

imaq [imeq] water; (imaq means in Greenlandic: sea)

imuiaḡtut [amerlasot] many

im·o·ja·rtəq [pun·eq] butter; (im·uk in Greenlandic means: milk)

in·a^ulerpəq [utərqalivəq] becoming old

in·aq [utərqaq] old

inu^vaq [inu^vaq] tarsal bone, a kind of dice or game piece. Tarsal bones of large and small seals are of different values, and they are used as follows: they are thrown up into the air; thereafter it has a different meaning if they stand up or lie down when they fall — something like “heads or tails”. In this manner the bones are asked, for instance, whether so-and-so is to be lucky or unlucky while hunting. The plural of the word: inu^vkāt, means in Greenlandic: playing-cards

in·ina·ərpə· [peqaṇ·ina·ərpə·] he found that there was nothing

in·ip·əq [peqaṇ·ilaq] there is nothing, it is not there

ipiutaq [pitutəq] dog-trace

ipualik [sikacicit] coffee roaster, frying pan

isaḡpa· [tiguva·] takes it; (isaḡpa· means in Greenlandic: stretches the hand out for it)

isarajaq [suliaq] a piece of work (a job)

iserpa· [tərqərpə·] hides it

isərtətuḡəq [qinmit siḡulərʃərtə·t] the leader dog in a team

isumataq (really: the one who is obeyed) [na-lagaq] master; (isumataq in Greenlandic means: one who thinks for others)

it·arigtəq [ərʃərqiḡtəq] something that has appeared distinctly

iterniujartəq [iserniartəq] one who wishes to come in

iterpəq [iserpəq] go in; (in Greenlandic iterpəq means: wakes)

icarnisa·luk [utərqaʃuaq] very old; (icarnisaq in Greenlandic means: old-time and is not used of living beings)

ivalo [uʃalo] sinew thread (ivalo is also known in northern Greenland)

ivaluḡfa^ut [uʃaluḡʃiaq] thread

ivarpa· [uʃarpa·] seeks for it

i^vnaq [aṇut utərqaq] an old man

jaratiga· [qasuf·utiga·] becomes tired of it

kagjuaq [aṇäk] mother's brother (maternal uncle)

kajərtualuk [təriän·iaq a^uḡpaluḡtəq] a red fox

- kaki^vfāt [ajä^afa^utit] meat fork
ka^kpik [merqusivik] needle-cushion, needle-case
kanaṇnaq [agsarneq] east wind; (in Greenland kanaṇnaq means west wind)
katlōq [katleq] thunder
ka^uvo^vo^t [sakiāṇmigiaq] a drill
keⁿa^ujaq (really: the face-like) [aniṇa^ufaj] a coin
kinerfik [Ernivik] the separate birth house
kinertōq (really: the one who is still bleeding after birth) [Ernisi-mafōq] one who has given birth; (kinertōq in Greenlandic means: heavy, sluggish)
kiṇ^uaq [qaq^uaq] mountain
kiṇo^umajaq [maqaⁱsiⁱfaj] one that is missed
kipiṇ^uilitaq (literally: something for keeping one from being bored) [ale^kutaq] pastime
kiso [suna] what
ki^fa^utit [qio^utit] scissors; (in Greenlandic means: a hair-cutting machine)
kitle (really: boundary, i. e. of the firm ice) [siko a^ulaⁱfōq] ice in movement
kiuva^u [akiva^u] answers him
kuniḡujōq [kuniḡsiumatōq] one who is fond of kissing
qaḇluna^urtaq (really: something from the white men) [an^uṛa^umineq] a piece of cloth
qaⁱ [im^uaq] perhaps
qaⁱjimaṇicunaluk [ilisimaṇicupaluk] an ignorant fool
qaⁱjiva [pa^usiva] understands it
qaⁱvalācivōq [aḡErpōq] comes, approaches; (qaⁱvōq in Greenlandic means: comes, but is now mostly used in the imperative only; it also has the special meaning: go visiting after invitation)
qaⁱvisa^ut (really: something that tells one something) [naluna^uErqutaq] a clock; (naluna^uErqutaq really: a thing that records something)
qajariaq canoe. (The word is known in Greenland folk lore, but there it really means: the kayak troll who sails in a half kayak and kills the kayak men on the sea. In more enlightened Greenland circles it is now becoming familiar in the American-Eskimo meaning)
qajartōrpōq paddles in a kayak; is also used of a bird that is swimming. (In Greenland only the first meaning is known)
qasaga^u [nikaga^u] considers him inferior

- qA³ratasiwəq [qa^ulɛrpəq] dawn is approaching
 qarsəq [patrone] cartridge; (qarsəq in Greenlandic means: arrow,
 which is sometimes the meaning among the Iglulik too)
 qarula^usuŋarpəq [nipiliŋmik anersa·rtərpəq] groans
 qibsigiva· [a²ʃuara·] make objections against (qifigiva· in Green-
 landic means: refrain from doing something for super-
 stitious reasons)
 qijəq·ut [iglerfik] chest, box
 qijukta^ukertəq [qifugtariaq] one who fetches fuel
 qinalugaq [qilalugaq] white whale
 qinuilitaq [ərutlivik] he whom one usually torments for favours
 or gifts
 qinu^uilitaq (something that keeps one from begging for something,
 or snarl, (dog)) [oruḅluti²ʃaq] something to occupy oneself
 (play) with
 qio [aniŋa^uʃaq pap·iaraq] a bank-note; (aniŋa^uʃaq really means: some-
 thing that resembles the moon, and was thus originally
 used only of metal coins)
 qiseq [ameq] skin; (ameq among the Iglulingmiut means *only*: cari-
 bou skin. qiseq in Greenlandic means: spit)
 qitikpəq [piŋ·uarpəq] plays; (in Greenlandic qitip·əq now means
 only: dances)
 quaraⁱciaq willow catkin; (quaraq in Greenlandic means: tuft of
 flowers)
 quinivəq [pualavəq] is thick, broad, fat; (quinivəq in Greenlandic
 means: is fat, but only about terrestrial animals, espe-
 cially caribou)
 quit·ip·əq [puätlarəq] becomes thick, broad, fat
 quŋase·laq [quŋasikicəq] short-necked
 quŋ·iarpa· [iʃigin·a·rpa·] looks at it, is an onlooker
 mak·a^ufaq [ERərtərfik] rinsing basin, wash basin
 mak·ut·əq [ino·sugtəq] a youth; (mak·ut·əq or mak·uʃifəq in Green-
 landic means: one who overcomes something)
 maquk [sialuk] rain; (maquk is related to the Greenlandic: maqul·uk:
 bottomless, muddy slush)
 malera·luk [al·eq] long-tailed duck
 mikilerarut [aʃ·aŋmio] finger ring; (mikilerarut in Greenlandic means:
 something one has on the ring finger)
 mimeq [qut·əraq] a thigh; (Thule: mumeq)
 miŋ·erpa· [upäp·a·] thrusts at it
 naⁱvip·a· [igip·a·] throws it away
 nakap·a· [piläp·a· or kipiva·] flenses it or cuts it over

nakataq [kipiʃaq] something that is cut over
 naŋariaq [aʷqutiʃaq qaniŋneq] short cut
 naŋerpɔq [qeɣarpɔq] stand upright
 naŋersivɔq used also in North Greenland; [nikuipɔq] rises on its
 hind legs (a bear)

napʼataʼ [tarnaʼ] his soul
 naparutaq [napʼarut] mast in a boat
 nasarlugaq [nasaq] hat, cap
 naʷk [naʷmik or peqaŋilaq] there is nothing, there is no one
 nerleqimaʼrɔq [neriʃamarpɔq] is ready to eat; (cf. Greenlandic:
 nerlerpaʼ: feeds him)

nernasuʃpɔq (nerinasuʃpɔq or nererusuʃpɔq) is hungry
 niʃtarqɔq [erʃerpɔq] appears; (cf. Greenlandic: niʷtarpɔq: is clear,
 is clear weather. erʃerpɔq is also used in the same
 sense: becomes clear after the weather has been thick)

niknisuŋarpɔq [nikuerqarpɔq] has just risen
 niɔruʃq [tikerʼrtɔq] one who comes journeying on a visit; (the
 word is also known in North Greenland with the same
 meaning)

nipamavɔq [muluvɔq] hesitates, remains away long
 nɔrtqarpɔq [uniʃpɔq] stops (Greenlandic: nɔrqarpɔq, hit himself in
 the eye)

nukveqarpɔq [nunaqarpɔq] has his dwelling at
 nulipɔq [inʼarpɔq] goes to bed; (nulipɔq really: retires to rest be-
 side his wife)

nunāŋuit (really: small pieces of land) [naʷʃut] flowers
 nuŋusagaq (really: something that quickly comes to an end) [sukʼ-
 uaraq] sweetmeats

nutaraq [meʼtaq] child

oŋaŋiutʼ [ajāʃaʷt] fork, meat fork
 ɔqalimaʼrutit (really: a chatter-contrivance or chatter-helper) [atuākʼāt]
 a book

ɔqaʷtivaʼ [ɔqarfigaʼ] speaks to one; (ɔqaʷtivaʼ or ɔqaʷpʼaʼ in Green-
 landic means: brings him to reason)

paŋgucit [inricät] a drying rack
 pakimipʼaʼ [akʼerpaʼ] lifts it up
 palarsivɔq [picāŋɔrpɔq] becomes good (cf. the Greenlandic palāk:
 good)

pamerpɔq (also known in Thule) [inerpɔq] become grown-up
 pamʼiɔrtɔq [niʷniʃtɔq] narrow
 pana [savik] knife

... paŋɛɾpɔq, this termination, which corresponds to Greenlandic:
 ... ɾɛɾpɔq (is already) and which in Greenland is
 only known in the Upernivik district, is peculiarly enough
 to be found again in the Iglulik tribe, for instance
 tarajulerpaŋɛɾpɔq: salt *has* been put into it

papacivɔq [naʋʃɛɾpɔq] finds
 parnāpɔq [pikivɔq] make ready to start
 piglɛɾtarpɔq [pigsigsarpɔq] jumps
 pikiartɔq (really: dives down through the entrance passage) [anivɔq]
 goes out
 pikiutivaɾ [anipɾaɾ] brings it out
 pilāŋuvɔq [pilāʒtaʋvɔq] is carved
 pilo [sanik] dust
 pimaʒɛɾ [piniarte] hunter
 piŋaŋaɬq [kanaŋaɬq] west wind
 piŋugaɾ [avaŋugaɾ] is disgusted at
 pisiʒsitaɬq (really: quiver) [aʋtlaʒsip pɔɾtaɾ] gun holster
 picuɬaɬq, plur.piciuɬāʒfāt [ɛɾfaɬq] black guillemot
 piujɔq [picäk] good
 piuŋilaɬq [aʒɾpɔq] is bad
 pualo [ɛɾqät] mitten
 pualrit [nivaʋtaɬq] shovel

sakupɾaɾ [ipɛɾarpaɾ] loosens it
 saliarpɔq [sinɛɾsivɔq] paddles along the shore. (In Thule saliarpɔq
 means: move forward along a mountain slope a little
 way up it)
 salumajɔq [panɛɾtɔq] dry; (salumavɔq is also known in Greenland,
 but more in the sense of something that is usually wet,
 but has become dry, for instance a tongue, a swamp, etc.)
 sanäcɾaile (really: no work must be done) [sapaɾt] Sunday, holy day
 satɔɾpaɾ [tigɔɾqiʒpaɾ] takes it again back
 saɾvipɔq [avalaʒpɔq] puts off from shore; (saɾvipɔq is only used in
 Greenland in the sense: drifts (involuntarily) away from
 land)
 savoʒaɬq [savik] whittling knife
 säbtiterpɔq (really: moves outwards, away from land) [avalaʒtɛɾpɔq]
 goes out from land
 sätqipɾaɾ [sarqumɛɾpaɾ] exhibits it, produces it
 ɛɾqɔɾsifut [aʋtla-it] gun, rifle; (ɛɾqɔɾpɔq means in Greenland: cracks,
 crashes, shoots)
 ɛɾtqitivut [sikumut ɛɾqarput] they are going down on the ice
 ɛɾaroɾt [atɾat] button

sikala't [na'gute:rqa't] small cracks in the ice

sile' [ila'] isn't it?

siŋa'jɔq [na'rtuʃɔq] with child; (siŋa'jɔq is known in Greenland in the same sense, but only of dogs with young)

sɔ'q qa'ima [sɔ:runame] yes, of course

sɔ:rɔpɔq [asiuvɔq] is ruined, becomes nothing

sujɔq [suʃɔq] one who does something

sujunartɔq [niŋ'äŋnartɔq] something that makes one really annoyed

ta'lerarpɔq [ta'glerarpɔq] shadows that glide in and out among each other

tapi'ʃaɔ (one that comes in addition) [ikiɔrti'ʃaɔ] helper

tatqeq [qa'm'ät] the moon. Besides the ordinary form in the genitive tatqup, a remarkable form is used: [talqip-qa'm'atip]

taiqtut [tarqi'ʃo't] lamp-trimmer (for trimming the wick of a blubber lamp)

tatuk (really: something that is too full) [pujɔq] smoke, fog

ta'ufumane [icaɔ] in olden days

ta'utl'a' [ta'rnerʃa'] the densest darkness

ta'utun'icɔq [ta'ʒpe'cɔq] blind

ta'utup'a' [takuva'] sees it

tä'ʒseq [pujɔq] smoke, fog

taqavɔq [qasuvɔq] is tired (compare the Greenlandic taqaaq: blood-vessel)

tarajɔq [imaɔ] sea; (tarajɔq in Greenlandic only means: salt, whereas imaɔ, which in Greenland is only used of the sea, is here used of large lakes)

tarqaka [tarqama] out there, or in there (on the other side of the place where one is oneself)

teriŋnartɔq [aglernartɔq] taboo, unclean (in a religious sense)

teris'eq [un'ɛrut] waistbelt

tigu^waɔ (really: one that is taken) [ernersiaɔ] foster-son; (the word is also used in Greenlandic: pani'ʒsiaɔ: foster-daughter)

tigu^warse (one who takes another) [aŋuti'siaɔ] foster-father

tikicɔrpaliɔq [tikicɔrpaliɔq] one hears someone coming. (This change over from u to i is also found in South Greenland, especially at the old Moravian places)

tiliva' [inäp'a'] requests him (to do something)

titera^{ut} (really: something for making strokes with) [aɔqertlo'ʃaɔ] pencil

titerqät (really: that which is of strokes) [a'ʒlagkät] a letter

tetersiu'artɔq [serablune siko titara' quperqu'blugo] during a shaman seance, makes a magic line there where it is desired that the ice should break

tərlualik (really: one with a spout on) [o:n'a'ivik] kettle
 tugserarpəq [qinuvəq] asks for
 tukisiva' [pa'siva'] understands it
 tusarnariŋ'ərpa' [ava'ŋ'o'pa'] is tired or weary of hearing it
 tuvaq [sikutəqəq] firm, safe ice
 tuva'q (really: regular place of resort) [piniuf'ifəq] he who acquires
 something for others
 tuva'qat [piniəqat] hunting companion

uk'usik [iga] cooking pot; (uk'usik is really a thing of soapstone)
 uk'utəq [savik ukufartəq] a knife that can be folded up, i. e. a
 pocket-knife (in contrast to Thule: isum'artartəq: one
 that is unfolded)
 uk'utlupəq [up'i:pəq] fall down
 ulapip'a' [tam'a'iga'] it becomes lost to him; (ulapipəq in Greenlandic
 means: be busy (in a hurry))
 ulerpəq (almost kuk'uvəq) makes a mistake
 ulot [pilät'o't] saw (tool)
 umiaq [umiaciaq] wooden boat; (umiaq in Greenlandic means exclu-
 sively: skin boat)
 unərtut [amerlasot] many
 uperualavəq [uisavəq] rushes about in bewilderment
 utlapəq [arpäpəq] runs
 utlarpəq [pula'rpəq] goes visiting at his village
 u'aliufəq [uŋatliufəq] the remotest, he who is farthest away
 u'ialikarpəq [uiartərpəq] bites to death
 u'igtərpa' (really: destroys her husband) [pal'lugo təqup'a'] kills
 him in a fight
 u'igasuk (really: one who longs for a husband) [niviarsiaq] girl

IV.

Shamans' own language.

These words are used not only by angatkut during their incantations, but by all who desire to place themselves in communication with spirits.

The Iglulik Eskimos know the usual Greenlandic word for shamanizing: aṅak'uerʃa'rpᓃq; nevertheless as a rule they use another word: sakavᓃq.

The following list has been recorded from the dictation of the shaman Aua.

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
agᓵaq means of conveyance	umiᓵq, qajaᓵq	skin boat, kayak
aipagtᓃq one who is occupied with eatable things	neriᓃq	one who eats
aipalukfik that through which food slips in	qaneq	mouth
aipat something to eat	neqe	meat
ajarqat something one slings away, i. e. with a throwing board	unaᓃq	harpoon
aksorutit that which enables one to use his strength	ivalut	sinews
aksuartᓃq (?)	kasuartᓃq	one who hammers
alerzeriᓃq (?)	qu ^w iasuktᓃq	one who is pleased
anerter ^w e't that with which one draws breath	pua't	lungs

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
an·ŋa·rtəq makes weeping sounds	qiajəq	one who weeps
anə'izit·əq (?)	{ sikup sina· a'ifa ^g fiu ^v aktəq	the ice-edge, where one usually hunts the walrus
anmiaq the breathing-hole breaker	nät ^s Eq	spotted seal
anūrjät (?)	an·ərait	clothing
atuartuk·at that through which food must pass	inalugiät	the intestines
au ^w erakʃaq something for roof beams	saunEq	bone
a ^w go·t that with which something is cut asunder	pila ^u t	knife
at ^w e·t that through which one goes in to someone; used indiscri- minately with uklari ^g zät	tərso·t	entrance passage
Eqəqtə·q the right side	qise	sealskin
Eqəqtə·q the outer side or right side	makta·q	whale hide
Erqatərleq the fertile land	uke·vik	winter settlement
Erqäp ilaŋa isariaq some of the earth that has been broken up by man	i ^v ʃəq	peat, especially peaty mud for sledge shoeing
Erqäp makta· the bearded seal of the land	siksik	marmot
Erqəq that which is near, i. e. envi- rons	nuna	the earth
Ēñuarut something for lifting water in	Ēñuseq	cup
igiartut those who are going some- where	niə ^r ·usut	journeying visitors
ina·rtəq finish something	i ^w ñertəq	one who sings

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
inmiglugaq the whistling one	qinalugaq	white whale
isAR'atit that which one stretches out for something	agzät	hands
i ^w o'ertöq (?)	sakuktoq	one who softens a skin
kakitla ^{ut} something to make holes with	merqun	sewing needle
kala'luktoq something that crackles on smooth ice	qimugsertöq	one who drives in a sledge
kan'ersörtöq one who spreads hoar-frost about her, i. e. on account of her unclean state	aglertöq	menstruating woman
kañerfuAQ the upper end of something	niAQöq	head
kautitAQ that which one has made beat	o'mat	a heart
kinikLERqaivik a place where something is softened	AqAJaröq	stomach
ki ^w galuAQ (?)	añut	man
kug'faijöq one who throws himself head- long into an abyss	siñ'nät'örtöq	one who dreams
kumaruAQ the louse-like: refers to the fact that the caribou some- times appear in such great numbers that they are like lice crawling on a man	tukto	caribou
qa'iRA'q the domed thing	tiñuk	liver
qaktuneq an eminence	kiñAQ	a mountain
qañat'at the soaring ones	tiñmif'ät	birds
qañ'örseq that which rattles when it falls	qAQzon	arrow

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
qapua ^r ti ^c is ^o q one who makes a lather	ermikt ^o q	one who washes his face
qin [·] ai ⁿ o [·] q (?)	taraj ^o q	the salt sea
qib ^l LA [·] q the brightly shining one	savik	iron
qiv ^f ak ^f amik something hard	agiart ^o q	one who files
q ^o rmiart ^o q something that makes the water run	{ maqukt ^o q qan [·] ERT ^o q	{ raining snowing
qual ^o so [·] kfa [·] (?)	er ⁿ uta ^q	grandchild
qualik (?)	nutaralik	mother and child
quac [·] ia ^q (?)	nutara ^q	child
qu ^w arisin [·] arq [·] rtar [·] one who has become his child	tigu ^w aq	adoptive child
makip [·] o ^q he gets up	{ u ^v LA [·] q qai ^w o ^q	{ morning day is dawning
mak ^l ak a maker of waves	ugjuk	bearded seal
mama ⁱ o ^q that which tastes nasty	ima ^q	the sea
matu ^o ert ^o q a lid that falls off	tu [·] ERT ^o q	the ice pick falls from an ice- hunting har- poon
maqa ⁱ o ^q (?)	siniktariarsi- ma ^f o ^q	one who is out on a many days' hunt
maqe ^j o ^q that which is welling up	{ q ^o rl ^o rne ^q ko [·] k	{ waterfall river
min [·] er ⁱ a ^q the jumping one	eqaluk	trout
najum [·] ata [·] that upon which one leans	ata [·] ta [·]	father
najum [·] atigisin [·] aiqo [·] ga one upon whom one might almost lean	it [·] o ^q	grandfather
nal ^o qt ^o r ^f ik the place where one lies	igle ^q	platform
nan [·] eq (?)	qutle ^{q̃}	lamp

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
napajəq the upright	qiju ^w arjuit	wood, especially driftwood
nap'ata· that which holds something upright	qanäk	tent pole
nap'ata· that which gives one an up- right carriage	qunaseq̃	neck
na·rʒuk inilertəq the spirit of the weather is about to sit down	ta·rsilertəq	it is growing dark
na·rʒuk the spirit of the weather	silä	the weather
no·kvik that into which one goes to dwell	iglo	house
nuṇ·uaq something that becomes used up	anio	snow in a drift
nu ^w fik (?) nu ^w ilāf·ät something to be drawn on a thread	iglup qila·ṇa suṇaujat	ceiling beads
o·terfo·t something with which one cooks	u ^w kuzik	the cooking pot
əqimaililertəq one who is becoming heavier	utərqaṇ·uler- səq	one who is begin- ning to grow old
əqimailifəq one who is heavy	utərqavik- ṣuaq	a very old one, an old man
əqimaraq that which is heavy	ujarak	stone
əqsəralik the fat-covered one	nanəq	polar bear
əqsəralik the fat-covered one	teriaq	ermine
əqsu ^w iaq that which is fatty	əqsəq	blubber
əqum·at that which warms	ameq	caribou skin

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
oqum·atik·fät that with which one gets warm	oquk·fät	sleeping skin
orfu ^w iaŋe Erqäp the suet of the land	qižuktagžät	fuel, especially cassiope
palujöq one who collapses and falls forward	töquŋaŋöq	one that is dead
paluŋ·A·rtöq one who has recently collapsed and fallen forward	töquŋ·A·rtöq	one recently dead
paŋ·Arqut (?)	taseq	lake
pisuk·A·q the one that walks much	terigän·i- Arfuk	arctic fox
pisuktainait one that only walks	aviŋ·Aq	lemming
pifuk·a ^g fät those that wander much	terigän·i·A·r- juüt	arctic foxes
po·ŋ·a· that which has enclosed one	ana·na·	mother
po·risin·Arqö·rta· one that could almost enclose one	niŋiöq	grandmother
putla·lik one with breath in it	o·maŋöq	a living one
puktaŋöq that which floats up	qikertaq	island
puŋ·öq the crouching one	qiŋmeq	dog
puŋ·uaraq (?)	qiŋmiarŋuk	pup
sablö·q (?)	qarle·k	trousers
saniklerŋo·za· the new one that is beside one	{ asianik u ^w eqalermät nuliaqaler- mätlö·ne·t	{ new spouse after death of former
si·Aruaq that which is stretched out	akluna·q	seal thong
sinilia the one that is by one's side	{ u ^w iŋa nulia	{ her husband his wife
siŋaqtit the flattened ones	amarqut	wolves
sublörtäk·fät tube-shaped openings	siutit	the ears

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
sublo·mertəq that which blows	anore	wind
sublutəq the loudly snorting one	umiḡmak	musk ox
sulərquartəq something that sounds like wings beating	persertəq	drift wind
ta·klaiḡeq the one that must not be men- tioned	arfeḡ	right whale
ta·klaiḡeq the same name as the whale, because the sea scorpions are supposed to be degenerated whales	kanajəq	sea scorpion
takun·am·iktəq one who gets something in his eyes	takun·iktəq	one that sees some- thing superna- tural
takun·atit the disks of sight	ijit	eyes
takun·atit that which resembles that with which one sees, i. e. the apple of the eye	paḡḡḡrät	black crowberry
tamə·atik chewing implement	aklerquk	the jaws
tau(?)	inuk	man (human be- ing)
taujaq an almost human being	qabluna·q	white man
ta ^u ḡusiḡa that which makes him a human being	tarniḡa	the soul
ta·rijəq one who makes it into a shadow	aḡak·əq	shaman
ta·rijuḡulertəq one who is on the way towards making himself a shadow	aḡak·uḡ·artəq	shaman pupil
ta·rneq the darker	tarto	kidneys

<i>Shaman word</i>	<i>Iglulik word</i>	<i>Translation</i>
terqaktaᑭ something that can blow away	{ tupeq iluperəq	tent the skin lining of a snow hut
tiglaralik the one with the tusks	aivĩᑭ	walrus
tiglaraut that with which one stabs	tuᑭᑭᑭᑭ	tusk
tigugaᑭᑭāt that which one must take	iklup iluane- cut	everything in a house
tigugaᑭᑭāt that which one must take	pequtin	property or pos- sessions
tik·liniuk that with which one points	{ qə·qiut pitikseq	gun bow
tuglatit that on which one drops to the ground	kameᑭ	kamiks
tukaᑭrtāt(?)	qimatāt	stores or people left behind
tukaᑭrtut(?)	qimuksertut	someone driving with sledge and dogs
tuklaᑭᑭ one who treads the ground	pisuktoq	one that is walking
tuklatit that which one walks on	tuktoqutit	boots, overshoes of caribou skin
tuktaq that which one treads on	nateq	floor
ugläglaijəq one who must no longer run about	ernioq	woman in child- birth
uklariᑭᑭāt that by which one enters	tərsut	entrance passage
uliguᑭᑭᑭᑭ something for covering over one	qipik	sleeping rug
ulukᑭᑭᑭᑭ that which is crumpled up	siko	the ice
uᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ that which cries like a child	ukaleq	hare
uᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ make a sound to one	unikᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	tell one something

V.

List of names of Iglulingmiut, Aivilingmiut and immigrated Netsilingmiut.

The following makes no claim to be a census of the population. That will be found elsewhere. But wherever I met people on hunting trips or at their villages I wrote down their names under their own village, divided into households.

Besides the names, this gives an impression of the distribution per snow hut.

Only as regards the natives round the village of Iglulik itself is this not the case. There I received the list from Jacob Olsen, who made no notes concerning the sexes. I have therefore only added these as regards the few that I know personally. But as a matter of fact, this omission is of no great importance, as the names are used indiscriminately for both sexes.

At the end I have appended a list, given to me by the immigrated Netsilingmio Taparte, of all the Netsilingmiut that have immigrated during the past generation to the region between Lyon Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet.

At Nauján:

- 1) qitlaq (the shining one), his wife ta·vluciaq (the short chin), their sons iceq (white of egg) and u^wa·nala·q (?).
- 2) tune sa³r^win (?), his wife qa³q, (brow), and their son tapada'in (?).
- 3) ivaluardjuk, (the little caribou sinew-thread), his wife aligicq (?), and their adoptive daughter ama·q (one who is carried in the ama^{ut}).
- 4) pilakapsāk (the badly-flensing one), his wife hana, called after Hall's wife, Hannah, and their adoptive son ame·miarjuk (he who shows the red of his eyes), amarualik (one who has something about him that recalls a wolf.)

- 5) patlōq (he who falls forward), his wife takōrnā'q (the shy one), their adoptive daughter hana and adoptive sons qaja'r'fuaq (the big kayak) and qase'cōq (the clanging one).

At Itibleriang (Cape Elizabeth):

- 1) aua (a little earth spirit), his wife ōrulo (the importunate), their sons a) nāta'q (the underpart or bottom of something), and his wife kiñutibka'r'fuk (the little one with the big teeth), and their daughter qule' (?), and b) ujarāk (the stone) with temporary concubine eqātliō'q (the father of the salmon, a legendary figure, really: eqātli'ōq — the one who makes the salmon). Furthermore Aua's nephew qulicalik (he with the caribou-skin coat), his wife pakāk (wrist, cf. pakasuñmikpōq — wrestles by pulling wrists), their sons natuk(?) and qāñ'ōq (crash) and the latter's twin sister ujarasuk (boulder).

The whole of this family lived in a gigantic snow hut, the so-called qaqajare'k, really: with common hole, as they have a common entrance but two separate rooms, where each family does its own housekeeping. Sometimes the two living rooms are also separated from each other by a snow "ante-room".

- 2) kublo (the thumb), his wife nu'fiaq (the one who is drawn on a line), their daughter ka'b'jākjuk (the one who eats walrus hide), and an old woman nāceq (spotted seal), aua's sister.
- 3) ka^unaq (the hammered one), his wife amaglak (the ama^ut-carrying one), their sons a) qō'vik (the thigh-bone) and his wife arna^u'jaq (the woman-like one) and son sa't'ōq (the flat one) and b) kanajōq (sea scorpion), and their daughter patluāñ-nuk (one who bears the marks of having fallen forward).

At Maktoq (close to Wager Inlet):

- 1) mane'laq (pack ice), his wife tin'ātluk (?) and their son po'pu-pō'q (?).
- 2) sue'sāk (he who has nothing), his wife tin'ō'rqe (the one who swells out) and their adoptive son anartōrneq (one who has once eaten excrement).
- 3) put'ō'k (the piercing one?) and his wife niviār'fuk (the little maiden), taquāciaq (travelling provisions) and his wife tō'rñaq (spirit); furthermore, the young men añutita^u'fjaq (he who is the beginnings of a man who takes care of others) and nuar'leq (jellyfish), and the girls nuliajuk (spirit of the sea, really: the poor wife) and equaq (she

with a lump of excrement in her behind, or: she whose behind has been wiped).

- 4) eqi^gfuk (handshake), his wife tig^wariaq (way along which one can retire — on the platform or further into the country), and their daughters niaqərluk (the bad head) and tulu^daq (the raven).
- 5) a³rula³q (?) and his wife itigāṇuaq (the little foot).

At Igluligârtjuk (Chesterfield):

- 1) papik (the tail-feather of a bird, or the tail) and his wife qa^u-va³jəq (?).
- 2) quasa (slippery ice) and his wife quṇa³tābləriktəq (the eagerly and sympathetically smiling one).
- 3) taqa^ujaq (the one with the blood-vessels) and his wife naṇmalik (the one who bears something on her back); as house-mate žilu^gjuaq (the big carcase) an old woman.
- 4) qalaseq (the navel), his wife qalala³q (the simmering one), their son seqineq (the sun) and daughter putugəq (the big toe).
- 5) aksarneq (east wind), his wife kiviəq (a legendary hero; meaning unknown, possibly: the sinking one) and their adoptive son siṇe³cəq (the one without laces in his kamiks).
- 6) to³glik (Gt. Northern Diver) and his wife aiə³ralāk (?).
- 7) əqo³-taq (shelter wall), his wife mikijunjaq (the little one) and the sons akpa (guillemot) and nigeq (southwest wind).

At Pikiulik (Depot Island):

- 1) inukpasu^gfuk (the giant), his wife kätlaq (?), their daughter kuke³jaq (she who resembles a finger-nail) and adoptive daughter ujarasu^gfualuk (the boulder); furthermore, qalu³saq (the one who was shovelled up with a snow shovel), his wife qavaṇan³ (?) and the sons ərfəq (blubber) and siksik (marmot).
- 2) a³ṇ³un³ (?), his wife aṇuileq (the one struck by lances), and the daughters nanəraq (the bear skin) and tuluk (?).
- 3) pa³pa³q (?), his wife katlajuk³a³q (?), their son piṇajāk (the one who is always just about to get or catch something) and daughter te³tik (?), as well as the young man apa³q (?), the wife's brother.

NAMES FROM THE VILLAGES ON MELVILLE PENINSULA
AND ROUND IGLULIK ITSELF

nutarariaq (the childish one). Arna³mik (something with a woman?). ataguarfuisseq (?). amərqaq (the one who is hauled up).

ARNARDJUAQ (the big woman). atagu^vta'luk (?) woman. kätluk (thunder). it-u^vfA^rfuät (their big new master of the house), man. aṇilikucuk (the rather big one). piuaⁱcuk (the peaceful one), man. niviäciät (the dear young girl), woman. qat'alik (he with the water pail), man. sarpikso (he whose legs go outwards). taqa^uvuaq (the one with the blood-vessels), man. o^rlineq (the burnt one). u^winik (the bare skin). malike (the pursued one), man. ukuma'luk (the heavy one). majörtöq (the one who goes up a river, i. e. salmon). a^umakuluk (the little ember), woman. arnäciaq (the well-shaped woman), woman. a^rpäk (?), woman. mamäciaq (the little nice-tasting one). eriperiä^rn (?), man. qamaneq (river broads). pa^rpa^rq (?). pa^ukto^t (skin stretcher). o^tarn (the boiled one), man. qat^ro^rqaⁱmik (?). ama^rq (the one carried in ama^ut). nuliajuk (spirit of the sea). merqotuit (the hairy one). serpa^rbik (the splashed one). a^ukoamⁱk (?). iserineq (the entering one). qa^vnaⁱciaq (the dear one that is in). öqe (the light one). pikujäk (the one with the strange back?). ta^rga^rq (?). to^rgaq (tusk). it^riligaq (one who has become master of the house). o^rkän^rut (?). ulaⁱjuk (?), man. ivalo (sinew), man. ukaliän^ruk (leveret). ula^rjöruluk (the one who mistakes). erlo (rectum). nāsaq (cap). at^rjuät (father's sister). isumaⁱcöq (the foolish one, the silly one). eqarsaq (the supple one). o^tua^rtjuk (the little o^tcöq, i. e. a seal that has crawled on to the ice). maneq (peat for kindling). qa^vnaq (?). paniaq (daughter), alariaq (the one on whom one turns one's back). inuaraq (the little person). ilupa^rlik (?) (the one with inner lining) man. pit^ru^lluk (?). ku^blöqänⁱcöq (the one who lacks a thumb). inu^rfuk (the cairn). quma^rqa (the bent-up one). puja (old blubber on the fireplace or cooking pot). ar^wa^rluk (?). kö^rceq (the pelvis). kak^riviarqörtujöq (the one with the big upper lip). nutara^riaq (the young one). ka^utjäk (the little piece of walrus hide).

NETSILINGMIUT WHO HAVE IMMIGRATED TO THE VILLAGES
BETWEEN LYON AND CHESTERFIELD INLETS,
LISTED ACCORDING TO HOUSEHOLDS

- 1) kupäk (?), his wife utkosikfaṇ^rnuaq (the little piece of soapstone). kupäk, who when a young man met Captain Hall iliyi^rliup tarajuane i. e. on the ice close to Adelaide Peninsula, immigrated about twenty years ago from the district about Boothia Peninsula.
- 2) iterusäk (the poor anus), son of kupäk, his wife arnä^rf^ruaq (one who will be a big woman), and their sons kin^rmikluk (he with the deformed heel) and na^rktaq (one who is

hung up), as well as their daughter nuliajuk (spirit of the sea).

- 3) suḅlutṓq (the one with the large opening, or canal or tube), son of kupāk, and his wife tapa'suk(?); furthermore, arna-rugluk (the girl), unmarried daughter of kupāk, and amarṓq(?) their unmarried son.
- 4) qarṃmik (the one who runs his forehead against), his wife ucukuniaq (the one with the big female genitals), their sons a) papik (tail feather) with his wife arnāk'aja'q (the woman), their son eqaluṇna'luk (salmon) and daughter kuḅlṓrqṓrtṓ'q (the one with the big thumb), b) o'lik (the shaking one), c) aktaq (the appendent one), their adoptive daughters aguk(?) and ivikṣaq (the one who will become straw).
- 5) sṓro'n'eq (the one who has been ruined), immigrated a year before from the district round Willersted Lake (the big Netsilik lake on the Boothia Isthmus), his wife eqeru-tin'uaq (the little waker), their son ip'ān'a'q (the one who holds tightly to his trouser waist-band), and the daughters teriaq (the ermine) and aktaq (the appendent one).
- 6) ziks'a'q (the young marmot), immigrated from Queen Maud Sea more than twenty years ago, his wife arnaluktitaq (the one who has been allowed to become a poor woman), their sons qilāk (the sky), ka'pe (the one who likes to put his hand in something), and u^winik (the bare skin), as well as their daughters itimāṇnāk (palm of the hand) and pamiusuṇ'uaq (the one who is reared); finally, kāk-luk (thunder), a young, unmarried man.
- 7) taparte(?) immigrated about twenty years ago from Queen Maud Sea, his wife a'pāk(?), their daughter aṇutivāk (the manly one).
- 8) inerṇeq (the finished one), immigrated about twenty-five years ago from Pelly Bay, his wife to'klik (Gt. Northern Diver), their sons mane'laq (pack-ice), inukjugaq (the little cairn), and sanarṣuk (the working one); talerṓrtalik (he with the fore-flippers), his wife ucukicṓq (she with the narrow genitals), daughter of to'klik.
- 9) usukta'q (the new penis), born in Repulse Bay, but of parents who had immigrated from King William's Land, his wife pā'tuga'ṣua (the one with the wide opening), immigrated from Baffin Land, their sons equaq (he with a lump of excrement on his behind), and a'klapaluk (the poor bear),

- and their daughter am^arun·A·q (wolf). There are also living with them ma^utlik (?), usuk^a·A·q's mother, and his brother ino·jAq (the doll).
- 10) kinmikluk (the one with the deformed heel), immigrated more than twenty years ago, with his wife te·Arqut (dog-whip).
 - 11) to·tiAq (?) and his wife qin^akic^aq (the short-nosed one).
 - 12) nāgjuk (deer horns), immigrated about twenty years ago, his wife ucunajuk (she with the heavy genitals).
 - 13) iatāk (?), immigrated from Pelly Bay twenty years ago, his wife avi^a·Aq (the lemming), their son akuliart^a·q (he with the broad nasal bone) and his wife ar^anāciā^a·Aq (the future good woman); furthermore, artart^a·q (?), who shares his wife with iakāk and who immigrated from Pelly Bay at the same time.
 - 14) nusugiAq (something to pull at), immigrated about ten years ago, his wife pukti^aq (one who makes someone bow his head), and their daughter kanaj^aq (the sea scorpion).
 - 15) ak·iutAq (something for lifting with), immigrated three years ago, his wife kinakuluk (what a poor thing!), and their adoptive daughter ar^anarsiaq (foster-mother).
 - 16) nakunaj^aq (the cross-eyed one), the preceding householder's brother, his wife nagwaq (the crossing place), as well as the householder's mother qo·ti^aq (one who grows together) and the unmarried man ko^agjuAq (the big river).
 - 17) s^ar^ar^as^aert^aq (the one who expects to suffer want), immigrated about ten years ago from Adelaide Peninsula, his wife mau^alik (?), their sons a) ɔ^arqarluk (one who has difficulty in speaking), and b) siutin·uAq (the little ear) with his wife kumāk^asiut (the louse-catcher).
 - 18) ugžuk (bearded seal), son of s^ar^ar^as^aert^aq, his wife pujuāt (clouds of smoke), their sons kat^arqAq (?), qa·viut (something with which one removes the scalp), and akuaržuk (the little abdomen), their daughter ar^anāgta^a·Aq (the one who will slowly reappear in another being) and the adoptive son tutikt^aq (he who lies with another).
 - 19) si^aner^a·ržuk (the little instep), old widow, and sons sa^a·ner^ataq (the one whose body is sore) and qa^abluic^aq (the one who has no eyebrows).
 - 20) su^wisaq (?), his wife tul^arialik (the one with the fang) and their son tigumiaq (the one who is carried).
 - 21) ilumiga·ržuk (?), his wife su^ablut^a·q (the one with the wide opening, tube, canal), their sons inu^a·fatuāgsut (the only one who will become a real man), and tulima·q (rib-bone),

as well as their daughter tin'uātluk (the one who bulges out a little).

- 22) in-ā^gIAQ (the one who is growing old), his wife qa-ḡunaq (the one who makes one's head ache), their son taḡajəržuk (the sneezer), his wife ucuḡuaq (the little genital) and daughter to-k'ani (?). Finally, ilulik (one with a hollow inside him) and kajəržuk (the red one), the unmarried sons of the family.
- 23) ko-pa-q (?), his wife ukto-taq (female genitals that belong to another), daughter of the preceding householder, their son ino-ktuk (the two that are too short) and daughter itimāḡnāk (palm of the hand).
- 24) uktunajuk (the peculiar female genitals), his wife kätliliuk-a-q (one who often lets it begin to thunder again), their son nila^ulaq (the little piece of ice), and the householder's mother te-nätluk (?).
- 25) anartörneq (one who once has eaten excrement), his wife niviäržuk (the girl), their daughter arnarta'ja-q (the new woman) and sons a) ukaliaq (leveret) and b) kaḡəq (snow goose) with wife sipiala-q (one who is split a little in the fork), from Iglulik.
- 26) inugpažu^gžuk (the giant), his wife kākäläk (?) and their daughter ujarasu^gžuk (boulder).
- 27) pa-pa-q (?) and his wife kätliliuk-a-q (one who often lets it thunder).
- 28) usuksuān-ajuk (the tremendous penis), his wife qanāk'aja-q (the one like a tent-pole). In this household also live kimaleq (?), unmarried man, and alörneq (foot-sole), unmarried man.
- 29) piujəq (the one who is worth something), unmarried man and sister pujaq (the cloud of smoke), married to hiluktuq (the big carcass) from Baker Lake.
- 30) taleriktəq (the one with the strong arm), his wife uktukžuk (the little genitals), their sons isäk'iaq (the one who stretches his arm out) and quḡiaruklik (a white dog with a black throat), and their daughter arnarugluk (the enormous woman).
- 31) merqulilik (the hairy one), old widower, his sons a) ugžuk (bearded seal) with wife qasigiala-q (the little spotted seal), and b) ukaliaq (leveret), unmarried.
- 32) ka-kjuk (?) and his wife igala-q (ice window).
- 33) saḡmörtəq (the one who goes to the bottom of the lake) and his wife sika!a-q (?).

- 34) qimuk^{se}ra^q (the sledge that is out driving), his wife pagāk^{aq} (?), their son tin^uät^{luk} (the one who bulges out a little) and daughter tuktuci^{aq} (the dear little caribou).
- 35) tuna^{la}^q (the tuneq child), his wife e^ssaluk (one who has swallowed something that has disagreed with him), from Iglulik. Here live also pi^a^juic^{aq} (the one who will never be caught), old widower, his adoptive son kublo (the thumb) with wife nu^v^{ia}^q (?).
- 36) ukpart^q (one who is too violent to provide for himself), his wife qava^{na}ⁿ (?), from Aivilik, and their son aⁿuti^{na}^{aq} (the little man).

Besides those named here, there are among the immigrants about thirty or forty whose names Taparte could not remember. The years that are indicated for their immigration are reckoned from 1922.

VI.

Place names according to Eskimo sketch-maps from the Iglulingmiut.

Wherever we came on our journeys for the purpose of meeting the various tribes, it was necessary for us to know the situation of the inhabited places and to become acquainted with the inhabitant's own place names.

For our guidance a number of Eskimo sketch-maps were drawn for me, a few specimens of which I will reproduce in the following.

The sketches were all worked out by people who are not accustomed to the use of paper and pencil, but nevertheless they display a firmness of line that is remarkable. In these hand-drawn maps it must not be expected, of course, that distances and proportions are correct; but it is true of most of them that the coast line and — where it is aimed at — the interior are given with such great sense of the peculiarities of the landscape that it is an easy matter to travel by them and find one's position, even when quite unfamiliar with the local conditions.

It should be observed, however, that certain inaccuracies and exaggerations in the proportions have been made deliberately, just for the purpose of emphasizing certain peculiarities of character in the landscape.

If these place names are carefully studied, one cannot avoid being struck by the resemblance between this dialect and Greenlandic. And if it is compared with specimens of the folk tales that have been given, it must be admitted that it more closely approaches the Greenland mode of expression than on an average it does the present dialect of the Iglulingmiut.

In some of the maps I have inserted the more important English names, and as these can easily be found on the survey maps in Parts I and II, the particular stretch of country can be rapidly identified. On the maps where the English names have been

omitted, this has been done because I did not consider they were necessary on these.

For purposes of further guidance I have also reproduced a special map for the region round our headquarters.

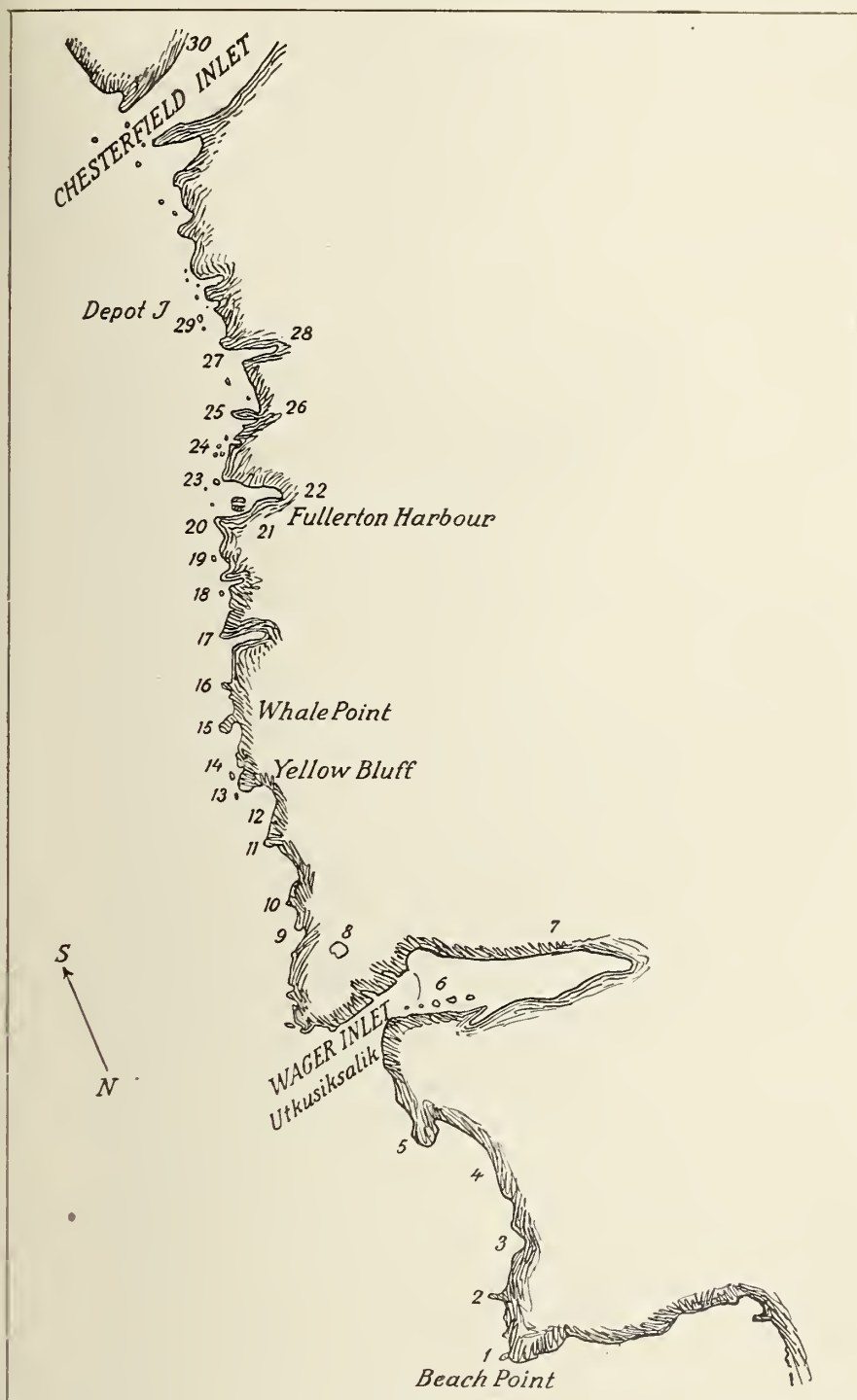
I have endeavoured to attach to these sketches as many place names as it was possible to include without risk of misunderstanding. But the giving of names is employed to such a tremendous extent that it was impossible to get them all in on the maps themselves, and therefore I have simply had to use numbers, corresponding to the names put into lists.

By means of the names the Eskimos can also characterise their land in such a manner that one is often able to form an idea of the nature and peculiarities of the districts. This method of naming, however, involves that the same place name is often repeated in all essentials in all Eskimo districts right from Greenland to Alaska. It is thus obvious that in this material we have a very important basis for comparative studies of dialects. This, then, is the reason that so many names have been included and that I have endeavoured in all cases to explain their meaning where this was possible.

SKETCH-MAP I

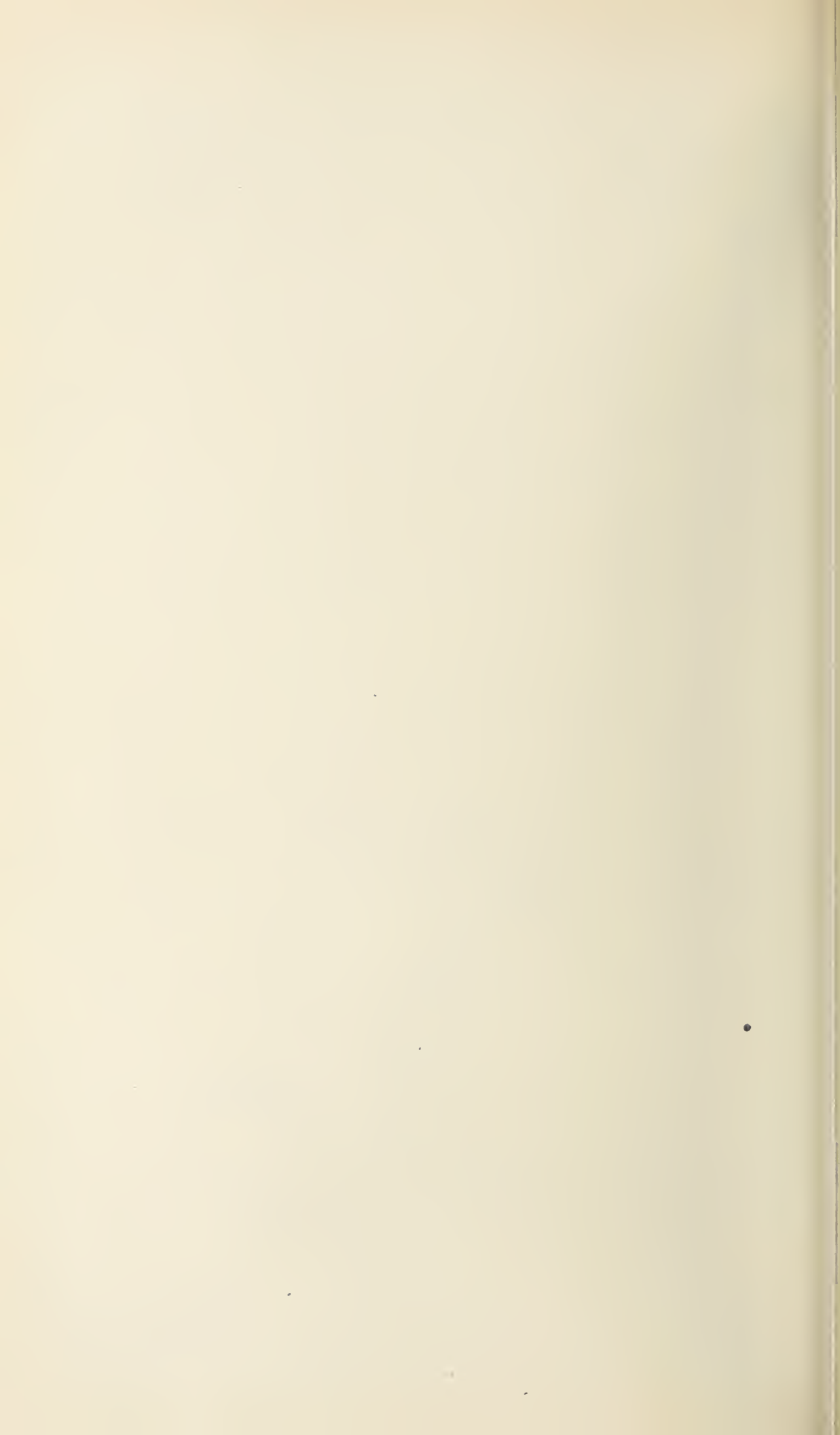
*The west coast of Roe's Welcome from Beach Point
to Chesterfield Inlet, drawn by Usugtâq.
The coastline is shown from north to south.*

1. tajarneq — humerus of a seal, indicating the form of a point.
2. panalik — the place with a knife. pana is the big flensing knife.
The name has reference to a sharply projecting point.
3. qasigiartôq — the place with many spotted seals. There is a bay here, very favourably situated for the passage of seals.
4. ujarasukfulik — the place with the many boulders. There is a stretch of beach here, with a lot of loose stones up over the shore.
5. mäktôq — meaning unknown. The place is a peninsula at the entrance to Wager Inlet.
6. no'vuklet — the extreme point. At this place is a row of islands off the shore within the curve of Wager Inlet (utkufiḡjalik — the place where soapstone is to be found).
7. no'glet — outer point. Refers to a point some way up Wager Inlet.



Sketch-Map I.

The west coast of Roe's Welcome from Beach Point to Chesterfield Inlet. Drawn by Usugtâq. The coastline is shown from north to south.



8. aṇmalōrtōq — the round one. Here: a lake in the middle of the peninsula north of Wager Inlet.
9. qamarfet — the place where one waits for the passage of seals. Here it is the name of a point outside a bay which the seals pass.
10. atagu^gtāktalik — the place with cairns. (atago is thought to be a forgotten word for cairn). Here it is the name of a point.
11. kaḡfik — the place of hunger. Here: a point where legend tells that the inhabitants suffered hunger.
12. iterlāk — wide bay. Just south of Yellow Bluff.
13. a^ukpilāktut — the red ones. Refers to the reddish-yellow colour of the rocks in a similar manner to the English Yellow Bluff.
14. qertuāciariktōq — meaning unknown. Small island with many cairns.
15. kin'erit — the high ones. The coast is otherwise flat, but here it rises to a considerable height in a promontory, Whale Point.
16. a^ulācivik — waving place. Here: a point with a large number of fence-cairns for use in caribou hunting. On the top of these cairns the skin of a gull or a piece of a caribou skin was fastened, so that when it flapped in the wind it would add to the fear of the caribou. Literally, the name means the place where one lets something move.
17. qasigiarsiorfik — the place where one usually hunts the spotted seal. Here: a narrow arm of the sea.
18. siōraq — sand. Here: a little, flat island with a sandy beach.
19. man'iligārḡfuk — the little one with the many eggs. Here: an island, where sea-birds breed.
20. upernavik — spring camp. Here a point.
21. pitiktarfik — the place where one shot with the bow (probably for practice). This indicates a locality close to the old settlement of upernavik.
22. qatiktalik — the place with the bird-breasts. Here: a bay, Fullerton Harbour; as a rule there are numbers of sea-birds here, so that the name probably originates from the fact that in former times big feasts of sea-birds were held there.
23. qeqertakuluk — the little island.
24. man'ilikḡuaq — the place of many eggs. Here: an island with many breeding places.

25. quŋiaruklik — the white dog with dark neck and head. Here a point.
26. inuksivik — the place where one met human beings. Here: a bay to the south of the preceding place. The name refers to the fact that travellers from north and from south once met here.
27. tikeŋarʔzuk — the one like a little index finger. Here: a projecting point between two bays.
28. kaŋnuʃalik — the place where copper is found. Here: the head of a bay.
29. pikiuleq — something that shoots up from the sea. The word is possibly a derivative of pikiarpaq — emerges out of the sea. Here: Depot Island, a good distance out from the coast. The surrounding coastland is low, and the island therefore is an outstanding mark and can be seen from a long way off.
30. aksarŋeq — old name for east wind. Is here often used of: wind out from a fjord. Here it is the name of Chesterfield Inlet, where the strongest and most prevalent wind blows from the fjord. aksarŋeq is thus often used of a shore wind, without regard to compass points.

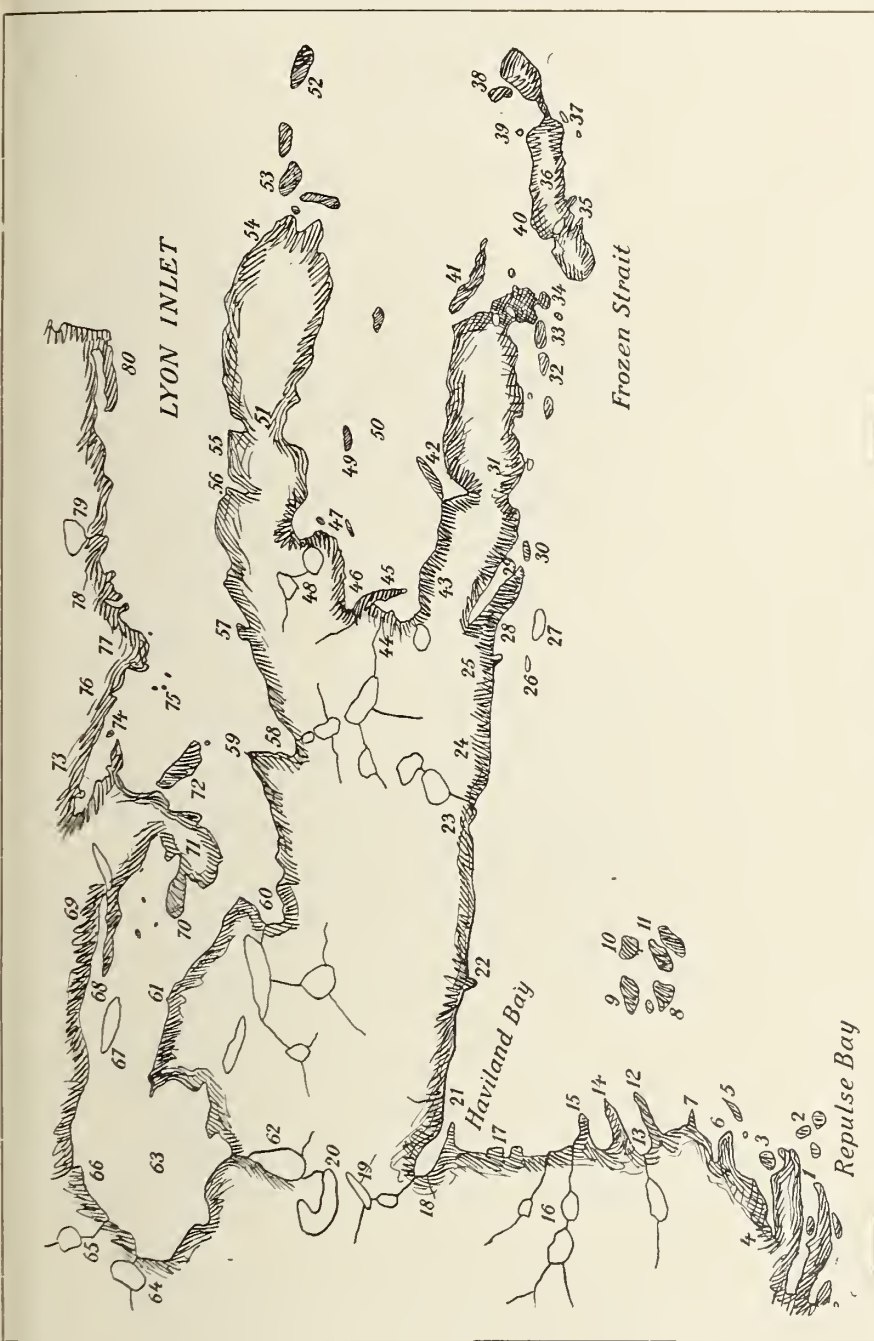
SKETCH-MAP II

The coast stretch between Lyon Inlet and Repulse Bay.

Drawn by Ivaluardjuk.

Looking from south to north; compare the survey map of the nearest surroundings of Danish Island.

1. aivilik — the place of walruses. Here: a small bay, which has given its name to the whole district between Wager Inlet and Melville Peninsula.
2. ʔqoʔtaluktalik — the place where there are shelter walls. Here: a small island.
3. simequtaq — “the cork”. Common term for islands at the mouth of fjords. Here: the island lying at the entrance to Nauján Creek.
4. na^ujaŋ — the young gulls. This is the famous very ancient settlement where Dr. Mathiassen made his most important archaeological finds regarding the old Thule Culture. The name is due to a gull-cliff near the settlement.
5. tulu^garbik — the place where one has caught a raven. Here: an island.



Sketch-Map II.

The coast stretch between Lyon Inlet and Repulse Bay, Drawn by Ivaluardjuk. Looking from south to north; compare the survey map of the environs of Danish Island.

6. sit^{ar}ar^{wik} — the slide. Here: a point with smooth slopes.
7. inuksulik — the place of cairns. Here: a point. All the cairns referred to here are of Eskimo hunting fences.
8. qeqertān — the islands. A group of islands, the so-called Ships Harbour Island, where the American whalers used to seek a haven.
9. igl^{ar}guartalik — the place with the big house ruin. Here: an island, where there are probably the ruins of a house built by the whalers.
10. qin^{no} — the look-out place. An island in the same group as above.
11. sāk^uart^{ar}talik — the place where there is an harpooner. An island in the same group. Refers to the former American whaling here. The harpooner was called sāk^uarsⁱort^{oq}: he who uses the harpoon-head.
12. sul^{ra}q — the whiplash. Here: a long and very narrow point.
13. eqalu^qbiliga^{rt}juk — the place where there are many large salmon trout. Here: a bay with a salmon river at the head.
14. pitik^{ar}ar^{wik} — the place of archery (see Sketch 1—21). Here: a point.
15. ika^rtalik — the place of the meat-platforms. Here: a point.
16. natluk — the two crossing-places (for caribou). Here: two lakes in the coast district in continuation of each other.
17. qakitalik — meaning unknown. Here: a spit between two small bays. Possibly the name means: the place where one usually brings the catch ashore from ice or sea.
18. set^{lu}aq — outhouse for storing skins. Here: a bay, Haviland Bay.
19. amit^{ju}art^{ju}k — the not very big narrow one. Here: a long lake on the spit — and sledge trail — between Haviland Bay and the head of Lyon Inlet.
20. peqⁱna^q — the curved one. Here: a lake on the same spit.
21. avat^{ar}pācia^q — the little whaling harpoon-bladder. Here: a cliff formation on the coast. avat^{ar}pa^{it} is a commonly used term for similar localities in Greenland.
22. isertⁱga^{rt}juk — the little one, which does not take long to get into. If one has to follow the coastline while travelling, but desires to pitch camp in shelter in the head of a little cove, the name indicates that it is not necessary to go far off one's course to do so. Here it is the name of a bay.
23. ko^tju^aq — the big river.

24. qERNERTut — the black ones. Here: two small, dark-toned hills on the coast.
25. siǝrartuluartjuk — the sandy place. A point with flat and sandy beach.
26. ERqərLe't — the outermost ones. Here: a small island.
27. uklertjuk — meaning unknown, but is often used of an isolated island that is higher than its surroundings. There is one of these here.
28. ibjugiktǝq — plenty of turf. Here: a small peninsula.
29. kaŋERlukjuaq — the big fjord. Here: a deep indentation in the coast.
30. ERŋileq — possibly a derivative of ERŋaliseq, the piece of skin that is laid in the bottom of the kayak. Here: a flat island, the form of which possibly is of the shape of such a piece of skin.
31. kiŋ'avik — the knoll. Here: a hill some distance in from the shore.
32. Eqaľuliktjuaľuk — the medium-sized one, where there are salmon. Here: an island.
33. Eqaľuliktjuaq — the big one with trout. Likewise an island.
34. subľo — the tube or opening. Here: a sound between the mainland and Vansittart Island, Hurd Channel.
35. kaŋERTjuarfuk — the little fjord. Here: a fjord arm on Vansittart Island.
36. nǎŋfuŋtǝq — *either*: the place of the many antlers (which have been cast), *or*: the young caribou bull, (because young bulls are found here). Both names suit the island here.
37. a'Vertǝaluk — the little one with many walruses. Here: a small island.
38. sǎklertjuaq — the big outermost one. Here: an island.
39. ukleruluk — see above, no. 27. Here: Danish Island, the headquarters of the expedition.
40. sERmERN — the glacier. Here: a small local glacier on Vansittart Island.
41. a"ľǎcivik — the waving place, see Sketch I, 16. Here: an island.
42. The same name and likewise an island.
43. amujartǝr"wik — the place where one drags something up on shore. Here: a flat stretch of coast.
44. iterjuk — really: anus, used of indentations in the coast. Here it is the name of the river in the fjord Gore Bay, which is indicated by the same name.
45. ta'ľutan — the place with the hiding place of heaped-up stones for caribou hunters. Here: a spit.

46. tinucivik — the place where one waits for the water to fall (in order to be able to flense some aquatic mammal or other). Here: a bay. The name may also mean a place that is especially good for salmon fishing at low water by means of weirs. This name would also suit the place, as there is a river in the bay.
47. iglōrtjuartalik — the place where there are ruins of stone houses. Here: a wide spit between two indentations.
48. majōrtuliga·rtjuk — the little place where trout go up the river. Here: a river that runs from two rather big lakes joined end to end.
49. im·ajuātjuk — presumably: the place where it is difficult to get drinking water. Here: a small island. The same term is common in Greenland.
50. itertjuk — cf. no. 44. Here: Gore Bay.
51. itiblikuluk — the little passage. Here: a hollow on the peninsula between Lyon Inlet and Gore Bay, generally used as a sledge route.
52. norvukleq — the farthest out towards the sea, cf. Sketch I, 6. Here: the outermost one of a row of islands.
53. qajōbwet — the shavings. Here: a group of islands. The meaning of the name is that these islands look as if they had been cut or planed out of the mainland and now lie like shavings in front of the coast.
54. tulu^aka·rului — the young ravens. Here a hill on the coast, where probably ravens breed.
55. kiŋ·apik — see no. 31. Here, too, a hill on the coast.
56. itibliartjuk — the little portage. Here: another hollow across the same peninsula as in no. 51.
57. ōqumitala·q — a place where one usually has the wind behind. Here: a spit.
58. arōbertujuartjuk — the little place of many whales. Here: a bay.
59. na^ajartjuik — the big gulls. This is a cape where gulls breed.
60. aqe·aqōrnarn — the belly-like. Here: a bay.
61. inukpaja·rtalik — the place where there are real Eskimos. Here: a level piece of coast from which runs a small point, presumably an old place of habitation.
62. aŋmalōrtōq — the round one, cf. Sketch I, 8. Here, too, a lake on the spit between Haviland Bay and the head of Lyon Inlet; this lake, in conjunction with nos. 20 and 19, forms the sledge trail over the spit.

63. qariaq or qarajaq — really a side-room in a house; figuratively: an enclosed bay in the innermost part of a fjord. In this case the innermost broad of Lyon Inlet.
64. aleq — harpoon line. Here: a river that drains a lake and probably has such a straight course that it resembles an outstretched line. The word is now no longer used here in its original sense; instead they say tuparsiaq.
65. t̄orwik — possibly an abbreviation of t̄orqivik: the place where one pitches the tent. Here: a river bed leading down from a lake.
66. k̄o'ktjuaq — the big river, see no. 23.
67. iglulik — a place with houses. Here: an island, on which there are probably house ruins.
68. qak̄ert̄ānuq — the white-spotted one. Here: a stretch of coast where the landscape has this appearance. May also mean white stone, limestone.
69. ni^wfa'vik — the place where one pushes snow away. Here: a village in a cove.
70. ̄orpiktujaq — the thicketed one. Here: a spit.
71. akuliaq̄āt-āk — root of the nose, or middle piece. Is in general used, as in this case, of a mountainous peninsula which juts out between two bays.
72. qeqerta'rtjuk — the little island. There is one here.
73. taluq̄ — cf. no. 45. Here: a stretch of coast in a small fjord.
74. q̄orbiq̄a'rtjuk — the little place where one goes ashore to make water. Here: a small island. May possibly be connected with the old taboo which forbade whalers to make water in the sea from an umiak.
75. iṅnerit — the fire-stones. Here: a small group of islands where pyrites can probably be found.
76. a^ukpiłäkt̄q — the red one, see Sketch I, 13. Here: a similar length of coast.
77. kitlava'it — the jagged ones (mountains). Here: a row of hills on a spit.
78. aqaliga'rtjuk — meaning unknown. Here: a small bay.
79. perusiala'q — possibly: the store place. Here: a lake in which salmon have presumably been caught in autumn and stored in stone caches.
80. maluksitaq — meaning unknown. Here: the settlement at the easterly rounding of Lyon Inlet.

SKETCH-MAP III

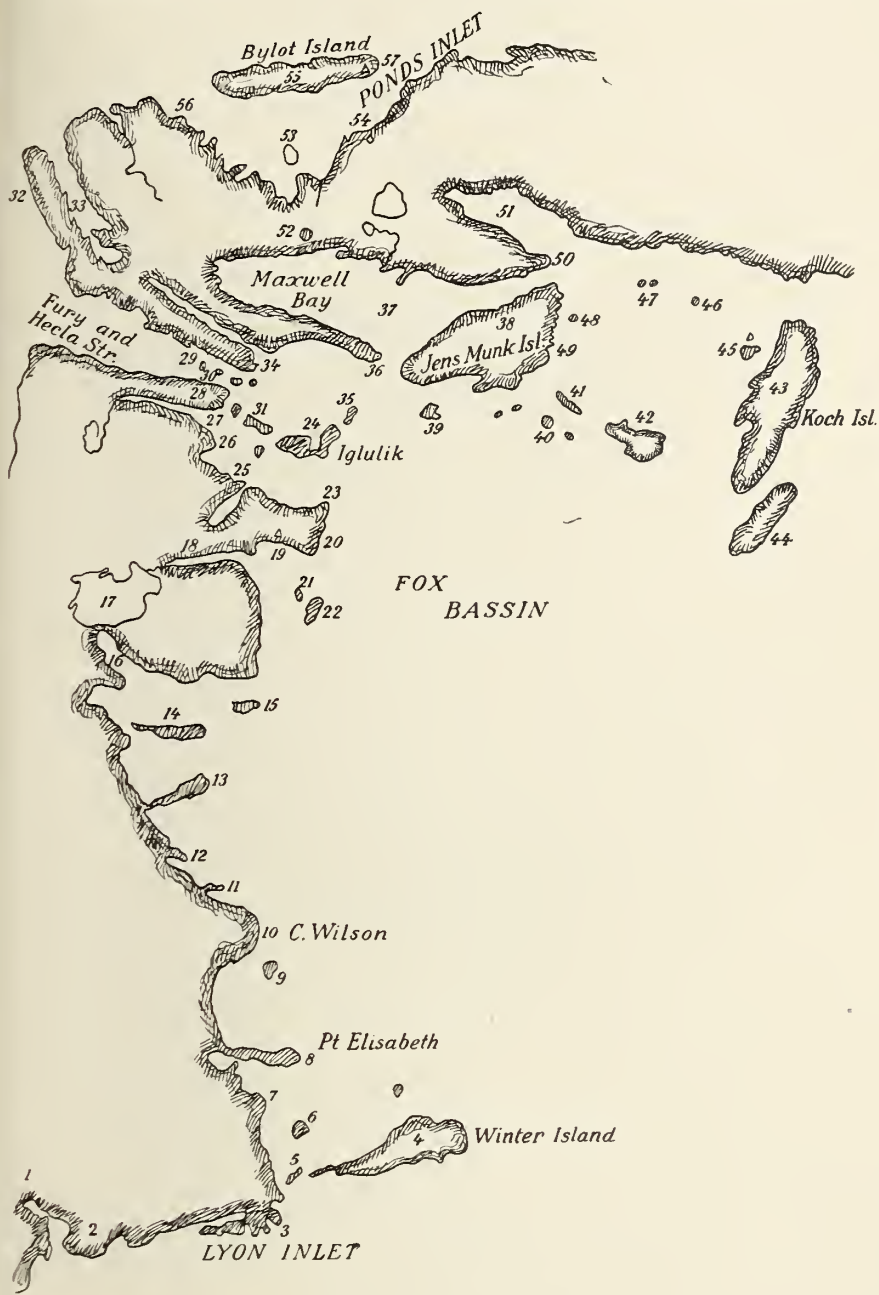
The coast from Lyon Inlet as far as Ponds Inlet.

Drawn by Ivaluardjuk.

Looking from south to north.

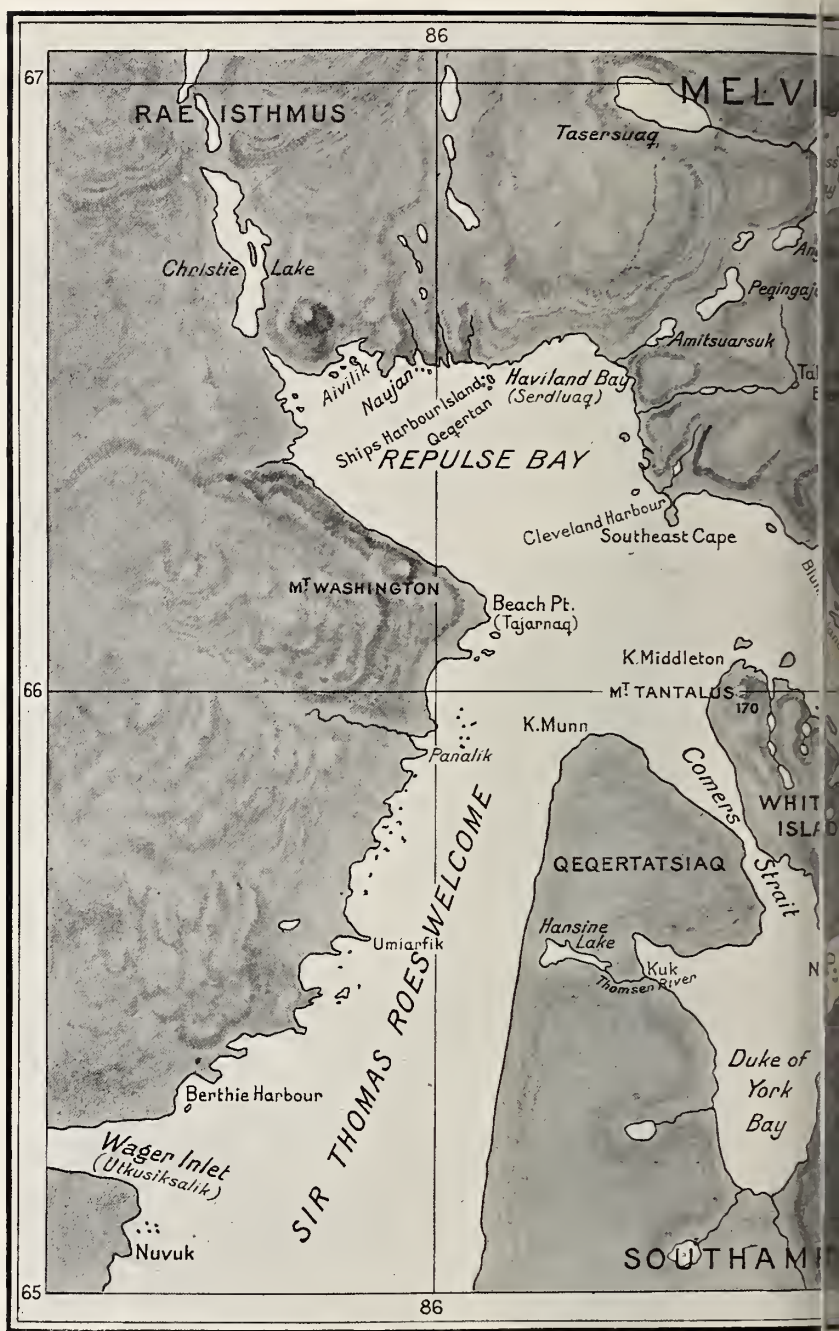
1. talun — the same as Sketch II, 73.
2. kitlavaⁱt — the same as Sketch II, 77.
3. maluksitaq — the same as Sketch II, 80.
4. niunigāktjuaq — the crooked one. Here: Winter Island.
5. tutja'n — the passage. Here: a small island.
6. siōraq — the sand; cf. Sketch I, 18. Here: a small island.
7. tulu^aka'n — the young ravens; cf. Sketch II, 54. Here: a small headland.
8. itibleriān — the passage. Here: a long, narrow spit, Cape Elisabeth.
9. ukle — meaning unknown; cf. Sketch II, 27 and 39. Here: an island too.
10. pitōrpeq — meaning uncertain. Is possibly connected with pitōrarpōq: beat down (of a local wind). Here: Cape Wilson (which is in fact notorious for its violent winds).
11. anāñniarfuk — meaning uncertain. Possibly: the one who smells slightly of excrement. Here: a spit.
12. usuarfuk — the little penis. Here: narrow point.
13. amicōq — the narrow one. Here: a long and narrow spit.
14. inperōq — the place with the many fire-stones. Here: an island.
15. uklerlārfuk — see no. 9, etc. Here: an island.
16. eqaluar^tjuit — the little salmon place. Here: a bay.
17. tasiu^aq — that which is like a lake. A common place name in Greenland. Here: a brackish lake, connected with the sea by means of a short stream.
18. sarwaq — the current opening. This is the narrow connection between 17 and the sea.
19. uqalo^ajāt — that which resembles something fenced in. Here: a settlement on the mainland.
20. piñerqalik — possibly: the place with the little hills (piñō). Here: a settlement to the east of the foregoing.
21. ukliarfuk — see no. 15 etc. Here: an island, too.
22. uklit — cf. preceding. Here: an island, too.
23. alarnaq — that on which one turns one's back to avoid. Here: a headland, where the weather is possibly stormy.
24. iglulik — cf. Sketch II, 67. Here: the island in Fury and Hecla Strait that has given the name to the whole Iglulik tribe.

25. nalorqajarbik — perhaps: the place that is difficult to recognise again. Here: a point at the mouth of a small fjord.
26. uḡalo·jakuluit — cf. 19. Here: hunting grounds near to a headland.
27. kaḡerluk — fjord. Here: a narrow fjord.
28. mane·cōq — the uneven one. Common place name in Greenland. Here: a stretch of coast.
29. sākla·rfuk — the outermost one. Here: the last island in a group.
30. a^ukarnər·fuaq — the big part cut by the currents. Here: the narrow part of Fury and Hecla Strait.
31. akfāḡ·fuaq — that which was to be divided. Here: an island.
32. akuliaḡātāk — cf. Sketch II, 71. Here: the big peninsula: Brodeur Peninsula.
33. tununeruseq — the little last one. Here: Admiralty Inlet.
34. eḡaluit — the trouts. Here: a fjord, presumably Gifford Inlet.
35. nerlernartōq — the place with the many nerlernāt (barnacle geese). Here: an island.
36. a^ukarna·rfuk — see no. 30. Here: the strait between the mainland and Jens Munk Island.
37. tasiufuaq — see no. 17. Here: Maxwell Bay.
38. kapuivēt — the place where one stabs salmon or caribou with a leister or lance. Here: Jens Munk Island.
39. siōraq — cf. no. 6 etc. Here too an island.
40. qa^rersut — the gneiss rocks. Here: a row of islands.
41. amicuarfuk — the little narrow one, cf. no. 13. Here: an island.
42. no·kle·t — the outermost one, cf. Sketch I, 6, etc. Here: an island.
43. qāḡ^zejufuaq — the one that resembles a festival house (qāḡ^ze or qāḡ^ze). Here: Koch Island.
44. sāḡleq — see no. 29. Here: an island.
45. manertōq — the place where there is plenty of turf for fires or lamp-wick. Here: an island.
46. aḡiartujōq — the place where there is plenty of stone for rubbing knives sharp on. Here: an island.
47. merqufāt — the feather like, or those who wear bird-skin clothing with the feathers outside. Here: two small islands.
48. qeqerta·rfuk — the little island. Here: a small island off the northeast coast of Jens Munk Island.
49. nerliviktōq — the place where there are plenty of brent geese (the yellow-legged goose). Here: a locality on Jens Munk Island.
50. ikpiga·rfuit — the place with the small bluffs. Here: a point at the entrance to Steensby Inlet.



Sketch-Map III.

The coast from Lyon Inlet as far as Ponds Inlet. Drawn by Ivaluardjuk.
Looking from south to north.



Survey Map of a
Reproduced here for comparison between the



ion's headquarters.

s and the actual coast lines and proportions.

51. kaŋerlukŋuaq — the big fjord. Here: Steensby Inlet.
52. qərLərtəq — the waterfall. Here: a locality in Cockburn Island.
53. tərqaja't — the well balanced ones. Here: a small island outside of Milne Inlet.
54. micimatalik — the place where birds rest on the water. Here: the settlement at Ponds Inlet.
55. sāŋnerut — that which is laid across. Here: Bylot Island, which lies across Eclipse Sound.
56. to'tjuk — meaning unknown. Here: Navyboard Inlet.
57. tərŋukāt-āk — the narrow passage like an entrance passage (to a house). Here: Ponds Inlet.

VII.

Diary extracts.

*Notes on the intellectual culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.
Observations during a sojourn on Southampton Island
in the winter of 1922—23¹).*

By Therkel Mathiassen.

Introduction.

Therkel Mathiassen and Jacob Olsen, who had gone by boat to Southampton Island in August 1922 for the purpose of making archaeological investigations, were prevented from returning by drift ice and had to spend the winter there, until a sledge from Danish Island in the middle of February succeeded in getting through and taking them back over Frozen Strait, which quite exceptionally was that year covered with ice.

They were only equipped for a stay of about two weeks and, when their supplies gave out, they were taken into the house of the Eskimo Angutingmarik and moved about with him. From September 13th to October 4th they lived at Kûk, the mouth of a river on the west side of Duke of York Bay, where seals were caught for food. From October 4th to the 23rd they spent by the salmon lake Hansine Lake, about fifteen kilometres from Kûk; from October 23rd to 26th at Kûk again. On October 26th they went on a journey to the caribou district in the interior of the island, round about Kirchhoffer River, lasting until November 16th. There the rest of the winter was spent until February 15th.

Angutingmarik was the husband of Niviatsianâq²); they were both fifty or sixty years old. Of a former marriage Niviatsianâq had a son Autlánâq, whose son Angorajak spent the winter with

¹) I have not been able to work these diary notes into my own material; I have, however, found them so interesting that with the author's permission I reproduce them here. K. R.

²) There is a picture of her in Low: The Cruise of the Neptune, Plate facing p. 168

his grandfather, whereas Autlánâq himself was on the mainland; it was he who brought the sledge for us. Angutingmarik had two adoptive sons, Ugpartôq with his wife Qavangan, and Qajarssuaq (about 17 years old). With him lived Saraq (about 50) and his wife Siutait, the woman Malaia (about 50) whose husband was on the mainland, and Kapianaq (about 35) with his wife and four children. Later on in the winter at Kirchhoffer River they joined Angutingmarik's good friend Malik (about 35) and his wife Nanôraq, the half-grown son Qusagaq and three younger children. Here they were also joined by the young man Qingaq, the last of the Saglermiut, adopted by an Aivilingmio, and his wife Siksik.

Sept. 9. Today Kapianaq's wife has ended her seclusion after having given birth to a little girl; as a consequence she has gone up country in her newly made clothes to lay the old ones under stones; at the same time the tent is being moved to a new site, a few steps from the old one; as a matter of fact they ought to have had a new tent, but have not the skins for it.

Oct. 21. This evening, when Angutingmarik was out feeding the dogs, he came in and told us that he had just seen a tiny little man, not much bigger than a snow-beater, black at the top, white below; he ran very quickly over the ice on the lake; Angutingmarik ran after him but could not catch up with him.

Oct. 26. Angutingmarik's shaman-belt is a dyed clothes-line, on which hang numbers of strips of caribou skin, a piece of bear skin, two strings of beads, several strips of coloured cloth, two pieces of paper. Most other shaman belts only have caribou strips.

When breaking camp at Kûk I wished to have a pair of small, cast-off sealskin boots of Angorajak's, but this was not allowed me; children's clothes must not be sold or given away; they had to be eaten by the dogs.

Oct. 27. When young men or women die, it is because they are not skilful (Angutingmarik).

Nov. 2. Last night Angorajak had diarrhoea and vomiting; this morning Angutingmarik shamanized over him, holding a burning piece of stick soaked in blubber over him and at the same time moving his other hand upwards from him several times, saying "pêrit". Today, as he is still sick, the boy is wearing Angutingmarik's shaman belt.

Nov. 4. Seance over Angorajak in the evening: Head-lifting, Niviat-

sianâq lying on the platform and Angutingmarik tying his shaman belt over her head and asking his helping spirits what was the matter; it lasted half an hour.

This morning the same performance, but shorter. The boy is now a little better; he has had Angutingmarik's belt on.

- Nov. 13. Angutingmarik shamanized over Jacob Olsen's disordered stomach: Headlifting. Cause of the disorder: Jacob had been out digging in old ruins at Naujan and Kûk. Jacob had to pay Angutingmarik with a box of matches; Angutingmarik laid them on the floor by the side platform, where they were to be left as an offering.
- Taboo. When a man comes home with an unskinned caribou while the wife is sewing, she must cease doing so until the caribou has been skinned (Niviatsianâq).
- Nov. 14. Niviatsianâq cannot sew the hood for my new fur jacket because it is of the skin of a caribou head and she has a bad head (presumably syphilis); I must scrape it and Angutingmarik sew it.
- Nov. 18. Angorajak is forbidden to eat gut-fat, as he has a bad stomach; but he may eat back-fat.
- Taboo. When a man gets a bear or a bearded seal in winter, his wife must stop sewing caribou skin for two days (Niviatsianâq).
- Nov. 21. Head-lifting, because Angutingmarik had dreamt that the other folks would come and kill us.
- Nov. 26. Angorajak must not eat of a caribou which foxes have been gnawing at.
- Nov. 27. Amulet. Qusaqaq, a boy of 14 years, has two strips of caribou skin on his back as an amulet.
- Dec. 5. Qingaq and Ugpartôq are both shamans; they were taught by Angutingmarik last autumn. Last night Ugpartôq shamanized over Qingaq's headache.
- Dec. 12. Makik's two year old foster son has on his back 16 strips of caribou skin, in which hang 16 fox metatarsal bones. On Qingaq's shaman belt hangs a small human figure of caribou skin; when performing, the belt is worn over the right shoulder; when on journeys round the waist. The bones of Qajarssuaq's catch (he is a youth of 17 years) must not be crushed, otherwise he will die.
- Dec. 15. Shaman seances have been held every day lately owing to illness; during the past few days especially, while Niviatsianâq, Angutingmarik's wife, has been sick, they have

been held in our house. The first evening there were present Angutingmarik, Qingaq, Niviatsianâq and Malaia. Qingaq crept behind a rug that was hung on two sticks over the rear wall of the snow house, and there he alternately spoke and sang in a rather altered voice. The song was rather monotonous, without words, but with more melody than their songs usually have. While he sang, Angutingmarik or Niviatsianâq spoke, and all the speeches, both his and theirs, ended with "tauva", which was repeated by all present in a shrill voice. He was constantly encouraged by the others crying "atê — atê". During the whole performance Niviatsianâq sat up and took part with ardour; it lasted more than an hour.

Last night there was a similar performance, lasting just as long. Once Qingaq spoke very rapidly — doubtless words without meaning; gradually the lamps were extinguished with the exception of a tiny flame on one of them; Ugpartôq was present instead of Malaia; all wore belts over their shoulder.

At a seance the other evening in Saraq's house the lamp was extinguished entirely, as the spirit was killed. Two of the causes of the sickness are that we have excavated old houses, and that I have "hammered the land" with my geologist's hammer.

While the sickness lasts, marrow bones must not be broken in our house; Angutingmarik must not break ice.

Angutingmarik, Niviatsianâq and Angorajak must not eat meat of which wolves have eaten.

Today Makik has performed head-lifting with his wife, Nanôraq.

Dec. 16. The prohibitions increase in number on account of the sickness: Angutingmarik must not scrape skin; there must be no skin scraping in our house at all; I must not clean the rime off the window with a knife in the early morning before it becomes daylight. Angutingmarik must not break up ice with a hammer or axe, but he may use a knife in doing so. Marrow bones must not be hung up to thaw on Niviatsianâq's or Nanôraq's drying racks, but on Qavangan's or ours they may. There must be no hunting when shamanizing is going on.

Last night Angutingmarik held a brief head-lifting with Niviatsianâq, who is still very poorly. Nanôraq may only eat the frozen meat of caribou which has been

laid in a cache. Angutingmarik and Niviatsianâq call each other Akerardjuk; it is seldom that people call each other by the right names. Angutingmarik calls Saraq Nioratsiaq, Qavangan Anânatsiaq, Qajarssuaq Nutaraq, Qajaq Qôrqajuk, etc. Arnaqatên is in very common use.

- Dec. 18. Last night there was no actual seance, but Angutingmarik, sitting by the side of Niviatsianâq, uttered a few sentences and thereafter "tauva".

This morning Makik performed head-lifting (with a seal thong) in our house. Makik must not clean the window in his house; I have had to do it these last two days. The window in our house has not been cleaned of rime for several days. Niviatsianâq's scraper (sagûn) must not be used, because she has lain on it while she was ill. During Niviatsianâq's illness Angutingmarik does nothing but hold seances, look after the lamp and do similar indoor work.

- Dec. 19. While the wife is getting the lamp ready and lighting it, no work must be done in the house.

During the sickness, the shamans who perform must not go hunting or do other work; Angutingmarik has done nothing for a long time; Qingaq did nothing during the latter part of the time he was here, and now Makik does nothing either. Both last night and this morning Makik performed head-lifting in our house. As Niviatsianâq is now better, the prohibitions are being lifted; Nanôraq may sew, and Niviatsianâq's scraper may be used.

- Dec. 20. For the first time since the sickness started the window may be scraped clean of rime; a number of the taboo-rules are still observed, however.

- Dec. 22. During a seance, nobody may come in or go out without first having asked permission. This morning Ugpartôq performed head-lifting with Qajarssuaq. Angutingmarik spoke most of the time, and Ugpartôq yawned vigorously.

- Dec. 23. In the evening there was a great seance owing to the bad caribou hunting; it lasted from 5.30 till 7.45. All were gathered in our house with the exception of Nanôraq, Qavangan, Malaia, and Makik's three youngest children. The men wore shaman belts, the two young men a thong round their waists. Makik went out into the entrance-passage and spoke from there; in the house Angutingmarik walked about the floor, his hands in his mittens,

groaning, gasping, speaking in turn with Makik; every speech ended with "tauva", which was repeated by all; now and then the others encouraged the speakers: "atê — atê!" Then Angutingmarik suddenly rushed out of the house, but soon came in again. While he was out, Saraq performed on the floor (the others sitting on the platform). Sometimes Angutingmarik rushed out, sometimes Saraq, and once both together. Finally, Saraq was out; when he came in he was seized by Ugpartôq and Qajarssuaq and held fast; again he was out, and, when he came in again, his hands were bloody; a spirit had been killed (Jacob had earlier on seen Saraq thawing a gut filled with caribou blood). Then he washed his hands in urine, made by Makik in our urine-pot (a tin can). Then Makik came in. A fur jacket was then laid on the floor and the lamps extinguished in all the houses. It was now 6.45 pm. On this jacket Saraq lay down, puffed, groaned, howled, made every possible kind of sound, rapidly uttered words with no meaning. Finally he spoke sensibly, and gradually Angutingmarik joined in, always with "tauva" from the audience. At the end the lamps were lighted.

This morning the seance was continued, the same people coming into our house with belts on; they brought with them various things: knives, cups, files, all being laid on the floor and exchanged.

Today there must be no hunting, and I must not scrape skin until after dinner.

Dec. 24. Last night Ugpartôq had a song-performance in his own house; only Qavangan and Malaia were present.

This morning Angutingmarik performed head-lifting with Niviatsianâq; both were rather brief.

Angutingmarik is now scraping skin again, but several prohibitions are still observed, for instance that about not breaking bones in the house.

Dec. 26. Last night and this morning Makik had head-lifting with Qusagaq; reason: the latter's sickness. One of the causes of the illness is that a month ago we smashed the eye-socket of a caribou with my hammer.

Dec. 27. After a seance, the shamans who have taken part must go outside and shout "tauva". Today, Angutingmarik went outside for a while with his shaman belt on, then came in and gave his hand to Niviatsianâq, who there-

after held long speeches in her pitiful voice, each ending in "tauva"; Angutingmarik joined in now and then and otherwise walked to and fro across the floor. While she was ill Niviatsianâq cooked meat in a separate cooking pot and also melted water for herself. I must not separate a caribou lower-jaw from the head inside the house.

1923. Jan. 1. We are now moving into a newly-built house; as there has been so much sickness in the old one, it is good to leave it, says Angutingmarik. Some of the prohibitions accompany us, including the one against breaking bones in the house.

Jan. 2. Morning and evening Ugpartôq performs head-lifting with his little girl, who is ill.

Jan. 6. While I have been ill, Angutingmarik has several times held seances; last night one over me; he walked up and down the floor and talked. We were very different; he had helping spirits (tôrngaq), I had none, at any rate he had not been able to get into communication with them. As the cause of my illness he found:

- 1) that while Niviatsianâq still had her old clothing, I had broken up a caribou head with a hammer.
- 2) that the hammer was used both for stone and earth and for caribou heads.
- 3) that I had excavated in old house ruins.
- 4) that I had taken human skulls from these houses.

Jan. 11. Last night Makik held a great head-lifting performance with Nanôraq; the reason was that he thought she had been rather too intimate of late with Nuliajuk, so that he feared the latter would take her from him.

Yesterday afternoon Malaia held a short head-lifting with Nanôraq.

After the seance last night marrow bones must not be broken.

Jan. 14. This morning Makik performed head-lifting; last night Ugpartôq held a "singing and roaring" performance.

Jan. 15. Last night Angutingmarik shamanized over Niviatsianâq, who again is worse. I must not go in to Niviatsianâq, as I have recently been very ill.

During the sickness, marrow bones may only be skinned by making a longitudinal cut in the skin, which must not be cut into pieces.

Jan. 16. During the past few days Angutingmarik has been shaman-

izing over Niviatsianâq morning, noon and evening; but he does nothing else.

Last night Angutingmarik, Makik and Nanôraq first had a long conversation with the spirits; thereafter Ugpartôq held a brief head-lifting performance with Qavan-gan, because one of her eyes had turned red.

Jan. 18. This morning Makik performed head-lifting with Nanôraq.

Now Angutingmarik says that we ought not to eat marrow, as we do not do it in our own country.

Jan. 19. Ugpartôq's "soul" (tôrnaq) has now returned, after Qertle's having taken it and kept it for some time.

Last night Ugpartôq held a brief "singing and roaring" performance, but whether it was in fun or in earnest was not easy to judge; once somebody said "tauva", and several times "atê — atê", but it all ended in laughter. The younger ones, Qajarssuaq and Qusagaq, do not take the many seances so seriously, talk and often laugh aloud during the performance, and sometimes they mimic them.

Jan. 21. Qajarssuaq, Qusagaq and Angutingmarik must not break marrow bones now. Hanging on the back of the left shoulder Makik's children Uklasitaq and Tarralik have two strips of caribou skin, the latter a pair of miniature boots as well.

The young ones play blind man's buff. One closes his eyes and has to catch the others; the one he catches receives a blow on the left temple, after which it is his turn to be "on".

Jan. 22. At the settlement more to the north two people have died. "To prevent the death coming to us" Makik held a seance last night. Makik, Nanôraq and Angutingmarik sat on the platform without belts and took turns at speaking, and each time it ended with "tauva"; Makik himself said least; it lasted an hour.

This morning Angutingmarik got up at an unusually early hour, five o'clock, "so that they should not die". As soon as Nanôraq heard the news of the deaths she sewed new soles on to her sealskin shoes.

Makik can no longer use his tent, as he has lived in it together with Erneruluk, who has just died.

Jan. 23. Last night Makik performed head-lifting with Nanôraq because she was poorly and had pains in her breast; there were 16 causes, including: that she had recently sewn mittens; that yesterday she had scraped skin; that

once when a little girl she had eaten marrow; that she had used bear-fat in the lamp, for which reason she was afraid that the bear would eat her and her children.

This morning Angutingmarik held a short seance in our house.

For five days Jacob and I must not eat meat that is cooked by Nanôraq.

Jan. 24. At noon yesterday Makik performed head-lifting with Nanôraq.

Last night Angutingmarik had a long seance in our house; first, Ugpartôq walked up and down the floor wearing his belt and talking; he found three causes; then he went out. Makik thereafter went out with a box of sinew thread as an offering to Nuliajuk. Then Angutingmarik, wearing a wide belt of cloth, spoke, facing the door all the time; twenty-four causes were found. During the whole of the performance (1½ hours) Nanôraq, who was very ill, had to sit upright on the platform, naked down to the waist; she had a good deal to say, however.

This morning early Angutingmarik spoke again, with the same belt on; this time it did not last so long.

Jan. 25. Last night Angutingmarik held a very long head-lifting seance with Makik, lasting from 5.15 till 7 o'clock; Nanôraq, who is still very ill, sat up part of the time, naked to the waist, and frequently joined in the talk.*)

Nanôraq says that since the bear was shot she has been afraid, more and more each day that passed, and at last she fell ill. The skin, head and legs of a bear must not be taken home at once, but must first be cached; the result of this is that half of the bear's skin has now been eaten by the dogs. Since the bear hunt, caribou bones (except the marrow bones) must not be broken; thus only poor use can be made of the meat as dog-feed.

For a certain time in winter, when the sun has begun to come up, children and young people must not break marrow bones.

A woman who has given birth to a child must not eat marrow, head or tongue of caribou for a year afterwards; a woman who gets a son must not eat these things "until he has killed all animals". Parents whose

*) The full course of this seance is described in "Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos", p. 131—141.

children are absent, or wives whose husbands are away, must not eat these things either.

One of the causes of Nanôraq's illness which Angutingmarik found out last night, was that I had scraped the rime off the window yesterday.

This morning Angutingmarik held a long seance, and another at noon.

Jan. 26. Last night Angutingmarik held a seance lasting an hour; proceeded rather sluggishly; found nine causes. This morning Angutingmarik first came at 6 o'clock and spoke for an hour, without "tauva" being said. From 8.30 to 9.15 he spoke again; four causes. From 10 till 11 o'clock he performed head-lifting with Makik. Marrow bones must not be broken today, as Nanôraq has become a little worse after Jacob had broken some again; during Nanôraq's illness her children must not eat marrow.

Jan. 27. Last night Angutingmarik performed head-lifting with Makik from 5.30 to 6.30. Then Ugpartôq gave a "song and curtain" performance, in which Qavangan and Malaia took part, from 7 to 7.30. This morning from 6.30 till 7.30 Angutingmarik spoke without ceasing, although "tauva" was not uttered. About 11 o'clock Makik performed a short head-lifting seance with Nanôraq; three causes.

Angutingmarik must not pound bear-fat for the lamp; Makik must do nothing at all while Nanôraq is ill.

During a head-lifting seance, when a cause has been found they say: "pêrdlipaluk, tauva"; then "píngilaq" and an attempt is made to lift; as a rule the head can be lifted; then: "suli-lo"; if it is heavy, there is more to come; if it is light, they try again "suli-lo"; if it is still light: "kápiánamik"; if it is heavy "kápiánángilaq"; another attempt "suli-lo"; if it continues to be light the seance is over.

Jan. 28. Last night there was no seance; this morning Angutingmarik came and spoke a little, and "tauva" was said once. Nanôraq is a little better. Makik this morning asked me to take the rime from the window. For the first time since Nanôraq fell ill Angutingmarik has been hunting.

Jan. 29. Yesterday afternoon, from 4.30 to 5 o'clock, Makik held a head-lifting seance with Nanôraq; nine causes were found. Today for the first time in a long period Makik was out

hunting; Nanôraq believes more and more that she is going to die.

- Jan. 31. Today (there was a full moon yesterday) the children and the young people may again break marrow bones, and Nanôraq's children are allowed to eat marrow.

Early this morning, at 4.30, Makik performed head-lifting with Nanôraq; then went to bed again.

- Feb. 1. This morning at 6 o'clock Makik performed head-lifting with Nanôraq; reason: a dream about a spirit that came to us.

The children have been playing at head-lifting with a seal thong, lifting either each other or a snow-beater, and saying "atê — atê", and "tauva", "tauvaluk".

From 9 to 9.30 last night Ugpartôq was head-lifting with Qavangan.

- Feb. 3. This morning Angutingmarik was shamanizing in his own house.

- Feb. 4. Last night and this morning Makik performed head-lifting with Nanôraq, who is again a little worse. Nanôraq and Niviatsianâq must not eat the fat of caribou that have been shot in the heart.

- Feb. 9. Last night at 8.45 to 10.30 there was a seance in our house, in which Autlánâq, who has now arrived, took part; the new rug was hung on the rear wall, and behind this went Angutingmarik, who chattered all the time in a low voice, sometimes puffing and groaning in turn; besides him, Niviatsianâq spoke a good deal, Makik, Autlánâq and Ugpartôq a little.

- Feb. 10. Bones may now again be broken; marrow bones however must still not be broken in the house, but in the entrance-passage.

Niviatsianâq would not taste jam, because I had given a little of it to Noqatlaq, whose son is dead.

- Feb. 11. Niviatsianâq has her own pieces of meat, which no one else may touch.

The old clothing must not be used after the new ones have been made, not even by others. The boy Siussarnat has as an amulet an old harpoon head (from the time of the Saglermiut) hanging on his back at the left shoulder.

- Feb. 12. Today I had a long conversation with Angutingmarik and his wife Niviatsianâq about shamanizing and the like. Niviatsianâq told me that I should give Angutingmarik something because he had cured my sickness. Angutingmarik said that he never asked for anything, but it was

the custom to give something, and it often happened that people who gave nothing became ill again. While I was ill he could see how I was failing fast, and I had nearly died; he then had asked Jacob whether he should not shamanize over me, but Jacob had said no, it would not help. But as he was afraid — if I had died — partly of Knud Rasmussen and partly of my parents, he had nevertheless held a seance for me in his house; if only I stopped breaking caribou bones I would soon become well again; and I did recover.

Nanôraq had become ill in her right arm and hand (they were very swollen) because she had thrashed her little adoptive daughter Uklasitaq so much; when she ceased doing it, she got better; but as she had again started to beat her, the arm turned bad again and she could not sew. Niviatsianâq had thought that she would die, but Angutingmarik's shamanizing had helped her; she had dreamt a good deal about why she became ill and how she should be cured; she could feel that she became worse when Angutingmarik broke up ice in the house, and therefore I was not to scrape the ice off the window with a knife, for then the knife might easily happen to cut the ice; when done with a mitten it did not matter. When I was ill and ate some of the flour that the sick Siatsiaq had given me, I became worse; as a rule one dies after eating food that a sick person has eaten of. Once a woman had had severe diarrhoea; a white man gave her medicine, and she became well; then another became ill in the same manner, and she gave her some of the medicine; but she died of it. Angutingmarik had cured great numbers by shamanizing; other shamans, however, were bad, and those who tried to cure often died; this was for instance the case with the cripple Agalaktêt.

A long time ago Niviatsianâq was ill, and a Qaerner-mio-angákoq was summoned; but it was of no avail; it must be one of the same tribe. Now they have heard that many people at Repulse Bay believe in Jesus, and there are some who both believe and are shamans; but that is not good. Angutingmarik knows nothing of Jesus, and as long as he knows nothing of him, he will stick to the old customs. I may write all this down, and people in my country will perhaps laugh at it; but that

makes no difference, he says. Captain Murray often made fun of him and said that the shamans did not speak the truth; once he said to Iterôseq, who was a shaman: "Take out your two big front teeth without touching them to show that you are a shaman", and one of Iterôseq's teeth fell out. Murray took hold of the other but could not budge it; but shortly afterwards it fell out too.

Feb. 12. When the men go away to hunt musk ox or walrus, the women must not sew on the first day, for if they do the men will fall sick; if the women sew skins of caribou leg, the men will have bad legs. Therefore Niviatsianâq must not sew the day after we have gone, when Angutimariik wants to look for walruses. While a man is out hunting musk ox, those who live in his house must not work on iron.

A variant of the Kâgsagssuk story,

related by John Hayward, interpreter employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, son of an Aivilik woman, born at Fullerton. The story was told him by Ujornaq, an Aivilingmio at Chesterfield Inlet.

"Kaudjâgjuk was an orphan boy; even his mother was dead; he lived together with folks who were not good to him; he had to sleep in the entrance passage with the dogs, and was only given food when the dogs were fed. But as he had not such sharp teeth as they had, he became very thin and poorly. However, he found a piece of flint which he used for cutting his food, and it helped him a lot; but in order that they should not take it from him he used to hide it under his penis foreskin. But once when they saw him eating with it they took it from him. One night it was clear moonlight, and so he went out and cried and asked his brother, who was up in the moon, to come down and help him. His brother sent three things to help him: a bear, an ermine, and a whip; and then he turned Kaudjâgjuk into a big, strong man. First Kaudjâgjuk sent the bear up to the snow house; the folks cried: "Where is Kaudjâgjuk, we can use him for bait while we kill the bear!" But the bear chased them into the snow house. Kaudjâgjuk was too big to crawl in to them and so he sent the ermine into the house; it jumped about and bit them, so that they fled out of the house, where Kaudjâgjuk stood with the whip and struck them dead with one single blow of it. Two women only did he allow to live,

the two that had been most unkind to him. While letting the blows of the whip rain down over his fellow-villagers he sang: "Where is Kaudjãjuk, so that we can use him for bait!" The two women he took to wife, and every time he went to bed he cried: "Who is my best wife?" And the one that came to him last he thrashed.

B.

CARIBOU ESKIMO TEXTS

VIII.

Original texts of the folk tales.

The following original texts are typical of the confused and often linguistically contradictory narration one gets of the old stories when it is taken for granted that they are known to those to whom they are told. And in this case too, as so often mentioned before, it has embarrassed the narrator to be interrupted after every word in order that it could be written down phonetically — as regards the following five folk tales written down by Dr. Birket-Smith. I have considered it best to re-tell the first three legends freely, as I was afraid that otherwise they would not be understood at all. By the way, there is a translation of the same stories — although told in rather another form — in Vol. VII, No. 2. In these cases I have myself taken them down and have been able to attach particular weight to the thread of the story and the simple and poetic manner of expression of the narrator.

No. 1 will be found on page 85.

- 2 — - — - — 101.

- 3 — - — - — 96.

- 4 — - — - — 86.

- 5 — - — - — 87.

No. 1, about amaroväk, is a fragment of "The soul that lived again in all animals". In this instance it has become a wolf and is unable to accompany its mates when they are pursuing a quarry, and the story begins at the phase where the soul is starving to death and therefore asks its mates what it should do in order to run quickly:

"Great wolf", said the soul, "do show me how to run".

"To this the wolf answered: 'The way you must run is this: when you are galloping you must stretch your backbone in such a fashion that your back forms a straight line, and the long hairs on your belly must touch the ground when you stretch your legs out;

your breath you must draw in deep breaths, sniffing the air in through your nostrils.'

No. 2, which deals with how Indians and white men came to be on earth, is to be understood as follows:

"There was once a girl who married her father's dog. She had rejected all men, but then one day her father said to her angrily:

"I wish you were married to a dog.'

"And it actually happened at night that one of her father's dogs came in and lay with the girl, and so they married each other.

"One day the father rowed his daughter out to an island, because the dog in his love-making was much too violent with the girl. When it was to have intercourse with the girl she had to get down on all fours, and at last her elbows and knees were worn to holes. Later, when she had given birth to young, some of them human beings, others pups, her father used to row over with meat for them in his kayak; but the girl, who was angry because it was her father's fault that she had been married to a dog, said one day to her pups:

"The next time my father comes out here to bring us meat, you must pretend that you want to lick the blood off his kayak, and then you must attack him and bite him to death and overturn the kayak.'

"This the pups did, but when the father had sunk to the bottom of the sea, the girl cut the sole out of one of her boots, made magic over it so that it became big, so big that it turned into a vessel, and put some of her young into it, saying:

"Let your hearts be hostile to men,' (i. e. the Eskimos), and so they sailed away and became Indians. After that she cut off her other sole, said magic words over it so that it turned into a boat, and put some of her young in it; but when it put off from land it began to take in water, and all had to work hard as they sailed over the sea. These, it is said, became white men, and the circumstance that they had so much to do in their boat later on became a peculiarity of white men, who are always in a hurry and have much to do and are clever at all kinds of work with their hands.

"Well, there's nothing more to tell."

Finally, No. 3 is the very generally known story of Kâgsagssuk, but in the original text it is, unfortunately, unusually clumsy and badly told:

"There was once an orphan boy whose name was Kâgsagssuk whom the people of his village treated badly. Every time he

wanted to go into the house, two young girls used to lift him up from the entrance passage and into the house by means of sharp caribou antlers carved like hooks, which they put into his nostrils.

"One day, it is said, his brother came and at once began to build himself a snow house. Kâgsagssuk helped him to close up the chinks in the snow wall with his bare hands, for even in winter, when it was cold, they did not let him wear mittens.

"When the house was finished, and the people of the village had started to hold a song-feast, Kâgsagssuk's brother closed up his entrance passage with a block of snow and began to question his little brother.

"Who is it that ill-treats you by lifting you up by the nostrils with horn hooks?"

"Well, it was these unmarried girls that used to do it to him.

"When the brother heard this, it is said that he let his amulet, an ermine, slip down through the urinal hole in their snow hut, saying to it:

"Kill all the people in the village; spare only these unmarried girls."

"The ermine slipped out and attacked the people of the village, slipping in through the neck-band of their inner coat, and it was not long before it began to be bloody from all the people it had bitten to death. When night came, and it was the time when people usually sleep, all the folks at the village had been bitten to death one after another. The only ones alive were the two girls.

"It is told that Kâgsagssuk now took these two girls to wife, and his brother made him a present of a carved walrus tusk which he was to use for thrashing his wives when he was angry with them. No one knows how the walrus tusk was carved, but there are some who believe that it was made like the hair-sticks that the women still use.

"Kâgsagssuk then used to make his wives work at something or other outside the house; then he would suddenly call them in through the window, and the wives used to rush in and pop up through the entrance passage. And then Kâgsagssuk cried again: 'Be quick and give me my hair-sticks, those that are hard to strike with'. And then he would thrash the wife that did not reach him first. Thus he took revenge upon them because they had ill-treated him. And the story ends here; but here is another recollection of how Kâgsagssuk used to speak:

"Let my little inner coat and my little outer coat be brought

out. But I suppose nobody will bring them out to me? For people will only illtreat Kâgsagssuk by lifting him by the nose.'

"And now I cannot remember any more."

All the irregularities that appear in the notes will undoubtedly be especially interesting to linguists, and for that reason I have not hesitated to include them in just their most primitive form.

1.

amarovāk.

Big Wolf.

"amarovāk ate'gōq paṇaligit takud'lagit."

"Big wolf! again, it is said, run shall you, let me see you!"

"ima'na mak'oa paṇalejujut qimertlutik tik'or-

"Thus these run must they: vertebrae theirs point

qipjugit ipiglutik tōr'jāklugit

straight out shall they long belly hair theirs touch let shall they

ma'na kunijōrnianikunik!"

this (i. e. the air) sniffing mightily in!"

Kibkârjuk.

2.

qablunaroqanik.

White men — those that became.

taipkuagōq qimere'k nuliare'leq-

Yon, it is said, dog and housemate, married couple who had

tuk ata'taṇōq qiqertamun akje'rmago

begun to be, her father, it is said, an island brought her to,

u'eluarpaṇmān he'tqug-

as husband because he (i. e. the dog) was brutal both knees

lugōq ikutiglo potuhut.

both, it is said, elbows both and — holed were they.

qimeloarjoqale'rmān ata'tā taṇa neqenik qajar-

Pups when she had got father hers meat some kayak-

tōrlune akjarqivale'rmān qimeloarjune oqālrotivaleq-

paddling to bring began he; pups hers to speak to she got

pai: ata'tā-taṇaṇōq qaile'rmikpāt

the habit: "Father mine," she has said, "to come when he as usual,

qaja'gəq alupa'qāt'arlugo puhit-
 his kayak," she said; to lick they continued to, so the bottom
 kiliguk; ha'moñainraqerhin'arlugo
 upwards they got turned; to the bottom after having let him go
 alāminik ahivaqiblune kaimigpai.
 one of her foot soles cut out she (and) put it out into the water.
 inuñnigəq täipkua itqilit akeha'rtona'qpaki-
 Men, it is said, these Indians, hostile towards they should
 ligjuk.
 afterwards be.

alāmik igloanik kaimigti'miagamik qolāi-
 The foot sole the other put out thereafter she but as it
 tərmañəq tejagəq hana-
 took water in from above, it is said therefore, it is said work
 gaqahigjoapakiliñəq.
 with the hands often had they to, it is said.

aho. nuñuvəq.
 Finished. Ended is it.

Kibkârjuk.

3.

kavjägʒuk.
Kâgsagssuk.

nivia'qhiāt malruk qarjərjavjännin qin'ak'ik'ut
 Young girls two with hook-formed devices nostrils through.
 kakiblugo qañataqpaga't katän-
 lift him up, raise him up they used to from the entrance-passage-
 me't iteriara'ñāt.
 hole, when he wanted to come into the house.

añajuagəq tikilerpəq. tujərmiag iglu-
 Brother his, it is said, is about to come. The visitor snow
 lilerpəwəq; kavjägʒugəq pualəqarane
 hut builds himself; Kâgsagssuk, it is said, mittens not having,
 upersulerpəq.
 tightens it.

iglugəq inermāt uk'uaflu-
 The hut, it is said, when it was finished, with snow-block at

tik numile'rmata apeqroler-
entrance when the others began song-feast to question him
pa:
began he:

"kia qin'ak-ik-ut piva'maṇago?"

"Who the nostrils through usually something to do to him?"

"täipkua niviaqhiäk piväkpa:k!"

"These unmarried girls usually to do something to him."

atigwq teriaq piceqone qwq-
Then it was that, it is said, an ermine, the amulet his, urinal
täk-ut atqatikpa: "täipkuagwq niviaqhiäk
hole down through descend let he: "These unmarried girls
pin'ilugik ila:i unatarLigit!"
touch not them, the others killed let be!"

nuläk-ut atigutlo nueqätalerpöq,
Neck-band through inner coat through and in sight it let itself,
aunipäklialerpöq un'uarö'-
bloody began it to be (i. e. the ermine) night when it had become,
mäṇwq hinileramik töqarar-
people say, to sleep when they began killed they were one after
put; täipkuagwq niviaqhiäk o'majuto'blutik.
the other; these, people say, girls live alone did they.

kavjäḡöwq nuliarileqpäk. aṇajoi-
Kägsagssuk, it is said, to wife had those two. Brother his, it
ṇwq aivrup to'ga'ganik o'mi'ho'hiva.
is said, a walrus's tusk with vent for his anger gave he him.
agḡerlugo ine'rmä'-
So work outside he made them when then they were finished, it
ṇwq igala'rmit icerqulerpa.
is said, the window through, called in he them.

täipkuaṇaṇwq katāṇmit nuigiara-
These, people say, from the entrance passage pop up they
ṇät:
did, (he said):

"tuglerutik'a kakitla:k ka'kiäkpaq!" täimna-

"Hair-sticks mine bring them, hard is it!" But the one,

ḡwq peqaṇ'itwq o'mi'ho'hiaqpagpa.
it is said, who was not there, his anger descend he let.

nuḡuʒɔq.

Ended is it.

kavjägʒoʔp ɔqalrosia:

Kâgsagssuk's talk:

"kapitaɾɭualo qulitaɾɭualo anilavrit.

"Inner coat little his outer coat little his and out let them come

aniniajāñitɔq. kavjägʒuk qinʔakʔikʔut kavgohi-

out it comes probably not. Kâgsagssuk nose his through stick

uk."

must you."

qavjumāñilerama.

Remember more I do not now.

Kibkârjuk.

4.

amauligaq ugpiɣʃuarlo.

Snow-bunting owl the big and.

ugpiɣʃoʔp ɔqālrosia:

Owl, the big's talk:

"u^wɛɾaʔrjoviⁿñ-imna qiavagʃaʔqjuḡ-

"Husband little yours he there, grieve for must again you

nago ivgaʔrjuniglo ɔrpigaʔrjuniglo haʔtqotiligaʔrhuk
not him straws small and branches small and harpoons tiny has

uvaḡa kihima u^wigiñmitqotoḡa

me alone as husband I wish that you shall have me

qablutoḡa."

with the big eyebrows."

amauli^gkāp ɔqālrosia:

The snow-bunting's talk:

"kiamē'e u^wikʔumavaʔte'e metqu-

"Who I wonder as husband wishes to have you, close-feathered

tuʔalukpit kanaʔñailaʔ qaʔqtɔʔq pikugtɔʔq
as you are, short-legged, broad-browed, thick-necked,

quñihikʂaʔq."

short-throated."

ugpigzōp unatariaqpa, amauligkāp qatixān'e
Owl, the big struck at it, the snow bunting backbone his,
igpigiklalerik.
got pains in.

ugpigzuag oqalerpōq:
The owl, the big, then spoke:

"Arnamōma qatixān'e igpigiklalerpai oqa-
"The woman there, backbone hers pains got has in, sharp
qapiṇuarlune."
tongue having most certainly."

nuṇuvōq.
Ended is it.

Kibkârjuk.

5.

amarōq.
The wolf.

"amarōq! hu'na pi'ṇa kiṇmiarpiuk ujara^up
"Wolf! What up there in your mouth have you the stone's
qaṇane?"
its surface on?"

"inoṇ qoktora!"

"A man's thigh."

"hōrme aituja'rna'ṇila'rma?"

"But why give a little piece will not you me?"

"ila mamariḡäpko, eḡäpko! qoa'q

"Indeed, I liked it because I swallowed it because! Frozen meat*)
maṇiaq — maṇiaq!"
to gnaw at — to gnaw at!"

Kibkârjuk.

*) This is a pun, as qoa'q is also intended to mean the cry of the raven.

IX.

Division of the year into moons.

atē'rwik (that (moon) in which the caribou go down i. e. from the forests in the south to Baker Lake); corresponds almost to the beginning of May.

avit'aq (i. e. the divided one: the moon in which there is both snow-covered and snowless land, open rivers and frozen lakes); corresponds more or less to June.

Between atē'rwik and avit'aq there is at the end of May and the beginning of June a period which has no special name.

kanralāk (i. e. caribou skin with two kinds of hair. For then come the caribou bulls with the beginnings of the new coat deep down and on the outside the remains of the old coat); almost corresponds to the beginning of July.

a'ta'n (i. e. the one with the open mouth. Then the young birds sit with open mouths in their nests); corresponds to the latter half of July.

tuktunigfik (i. e. the one in which the caribou come. Then comes a new lot of caribou up from the lakes and plains round Akilineq (see the sketch-maps, the ridge Akilineq)); almost corresponds to August.

akuglerōrfik (i. e. the one in which they (the caribou) have a medium coat: the hair as yet is neither quite close nor quite thin); more or less the end of August and beginning of September.

amēra'j'arwik (i. e. the one in which the caribou antlers lose their skin); corresponds to the end of September.

nikliha'rwik (i. e. the one in which it begins to be cool); corresponds to the first half of October, when thin ice forms on the pools.

hikoha'rwik (i. e. im'āt hikomiale'rmata: when the big lakes begin to cover over); corresponds to the end of October.

nuli^arwik (the one in which they mate, i. e. the caribou); corresponds to November.

kataga^{Eriv}wik (the one in which they (the antlers) fall from the caribou bulls); corresponds to December.

itlivik (i. e. the one in which something is laid in. The time when the very first beginnings of the foetuses form in the caribou cows); corresponds to the end of January and the beginning of February.

a^{wu}nniwik (i. e. abortion month. It is a very cold period where the miscarrying caribou cows, like human beings, have their strict taboo and only feed on the places where other caribou have pushed the snow away); corresponds to the end of February and the beginning of March.

tarq^enaq (i. e. the nameless moon. This period is reckoned to be the most dangerous of all moons, that in which human beings are most exposed to hunger and want and in which all kinds of taboo must be carefully observed and when one must neither eat nor drink in the open air); corresponds to March.

tukiliarwik (i. e. the one in which one must begin to go through the country (i. e. the caribou). The animals have not yet begun their great migration from the south down through the coast land, but stand with their heads facing the way they are to go. They now and then begin to move, but turn back when they are overtaken by snow storms); corresponds to April.

imi^{na}rqivwik (i. e. the one in which the roofs fall down, viz. the sun begins to melt the snow huts); corresponds almost to the beginning of May.

These moon-names were given to me by Igjugârjuk, who to my enquiry declared that this was the most natural way of setting up the order of the moons, as for them the new year began with the coming of the caribou in May.

X. List of Words.

*The words in [] indicate the corresponding
words in Greenlandic.*

a·aṇ·eq [agLEq] long-tailed duck

ag^wiḥarpᓇq cuts snow-blocks for building houses or shelters. In

Greenlandic a^vguifarpᓇq means: can cut something out
ajᓇrhigluawikhin·arpᓇq [ajᓇrsibluavigsin·arpᓇq] it has become
aggravated, has become worse

akjarpa· [a^gfartᓇrpa·] brings it from one place to another

agla [a^gLAq] land bear

aklera^ujaq [pᓇᓇgutaq] plate

ako skirt or tail-flap of an outer or inner coat of caribou skin. The
word is known in Greenland

alerte long women's stockings and men's stockings of caribou skin.
In Greenland alersit is used about stockings regardless
of material

aligᓇq [puia^ufAQ] bottle. In Thule they say nila^ufAQ: that which is
like fresh-water ice

alilajᓇq [pap·iARAq] paper

alo·t [alu^gf·a^ut] spoon

amauligAQ [qupaluarfuk] snow-bunting

amaut the sack at the back of the female dress, intended for carry-
ing a child; worn by all adult women whether they have
children or not. It is not so pronouncedly a "carrying-
bag" as the Greenlandic ama^ut

amarᓇq [amarᓇq] wolf

amerqA·rtut sits in a circle and lets a piece of meat or a cup of
soup go round, which all partake of, each only having
to take a bite or a sip at a time. The word is still known
in this form in the Upernivik District, whereas in Thule
they say: amerqāt·ut

amiakuvᓇq [amiak·uvᓇq] leaves

amijut [amifut] many, a crowd

anio snow, especially the snow that is brought in to melt for water
anṛākjät clothing of caribou skin. anṛaṛq in Greenlandic means
the national jacket with hood. The original meaning is
known in Greenland, too, but of clothing in general

anṛehiut bull-roarer

aṇṛtṛpaṛ [taṭṛpaṛ] mentions by name, or says something by
rote

aṇusäklṛq [aṇut] he-dog

aṇvrit snow blocks for building houses or shelters

apṛpaṛ [naṛpipṛaṛ] meets; apṛpaṛ in Greenlandic means: hits against
atajulik combination suit, with trousers and jacket in one

aularhaṭjṛq one who starts the dogs

avatik the remarkable, bag-like protuberance on the boots of the
women, with no other purpose than to be decorative

aviṇṛaq [aviṇṛaq (Thule)] lemming

Aqigheq [Aqigṣeq] ptarmigan

Aqighivik willow ptarmigan

Aṽqatit short-haired mittens of caribou skin. In Greenland Aṽqatit
means: mittens of every kind of material

Arnäklṛq [Arnäq] bitch

Arnäṇṛjutit European woman's dress

eṛkuluk [aṛp] yes. In Thule they only say eṛ

enromanaṽkṛne [Enromanapaluk] it is enough to drive one to despair!

erinalioṽt [serät] magic words

Eṇalugṛṛuerpṛq has no longer a fancy for salmon; in the sense:
thanks, I don't want any more salmon they say: Eṇalugṛ-
ruerpunga

Eṇalugulerivṛq [Eṇalugupṛq] has a fancy for eating salmon

Eṇaluk [Eṇaluk] trout

Besides this, they know the following names of different species of fish, which it has not been possible to identify, and for which I have therefore had to be content with the short characteristic they gave me:

aṽnaulik (has a very small mouth and does not take the hook)

aṽṛiaq (does not take the hook, can be taken with the leister
or the bare hands)

hijulik pl. hijuṽḫit (really: the one with the fore end; can be
caught with a line; it is peculiar that they have no teeth,
so that they cannot bite a line in two)

hivitaṛṛqṛq (rather big; no longer found in the interior, only
in lakes and rivers not too far from the sea)

huluṽpaṽuaq (very small trout, that bites on a hook)

ihetōrnaq (the eyes have a peculiar position in the head and they often swim on their backs)

ilōraq (the kind that bite on a hook)

kanajōq (a fish that recalls the sea-scorpion, but smaller)

kapihilik (not found far away from salt water, and thus not near to Hikoligjuaq. In Greenlandic kapisilik means salmon, but it is not this one)

kāk·iviartōq (really: long-snouted; can only be taken with the leister)

kumarqōq (very tiny; occurs in large numbers and is food for the salmon)

nu^wuḡrluk (small kind of salmon, less than a finger; is used as bait)

tikta·lik (takes the hook)

ukuḡnaq (fairly large, caught only with the leister)

erivōq [puḡōrpōq] wears a hole in the sole

erqōḡōrpōq [nakērpōq] is a good shot. erqōḡōrpōq is also used in Thule

ermiut [qaḡōrsa^{ut}] soap. ermiut in Greenlandic: wash-cloth, sponge

erōrhiniar'pōq or ermiui·ar'pōq [ermiuarpōq] will wash his face

halagjartōq [pa·lerḡuiḡōq] a dog that compels other dogs to obey it

ha'lrutarmanā't [qaḡḡutit] fish-net (really: that which prevents something from going outside of). The Iglulik Eskimos use maksitautit, which is also known among the Caribou Eskimos

halru'pōq [sarḡupōq] go outside of (round about)

Dog-driving signals:

hat-hat-hat uttered sharply when the dogs have the scent of something

hau-hau-hau whispered to further excite the dogs when in sight of game

ha'uk-ha'uk [io-io] Thule: ha^wa-ha^wa or haro: to the left.

ha^warqe-ha^warqe-hæ-hæ [ile-ile] Thule: asuk-asuk: to the right
her-her a cry to urge the dogs on

humagiaq iḡa [suḡōrle iḡa] I wonder what that one there really wants? Used also as a cry to uneasy dogs

iglut-iglut-iglut signal for urging the dogs to greater speed when in the vicinity of the village

o—o [ai—ai] stop-signal for the dogs

halumavōq [salumavōq] is dry

ha^wwreq [siḡḡariarḡuk] species of sandpiper

- hermerhijəq [qɑˈrsaivəq] lays ice on the mud shoeing under the sledge
- hermerhit [qɑˈsaʰt] piece of polar-bear skin with which water is rubbed over the mud-shod sledge runners
- hikhik marmot; in Greenland siʒfiŋˈuaq means squirrel
- hiläbtaukuni [siläcialaʰʃusia] the weather is fine
- hinˈäʃalərpəq [siŋˈäʃalərpəq] is falling asleep
- hinikluajuərpəq [sinigluäˈarpəq] no longer sleeps well
- hiŋeq [siŋeq] lace for the boot-sole
- hitüaluk [maŋˈertəq] hard (ice or wood)
- hubluartərt willow whistle. The notes are produced by spitting in it and then blowing.
- huinˈarərpəq [suʒʃaʰjuŋnaˈerpəq] is spoilt, of no use any longer
- hupigivaˈ [supigujaˈ] blows it out (a fire or flame)
- huˈwa uˈnət [susˈa uˈnət] it is nothing (never mind!)
- iglinˈakunimai [pilerinäʃusia] what a desire one gets for it!
- iʒliŋnarpəq in Greenland is only used in the sense: has an appetite for it, has a desire for it (something eatable)
- iglo [iʒluvigəq] snow house. In Greenlandic iglo is only used of a winter house of stone
- iga [ixavik or igaleq] cooking place or cooking room in winter snow-house passage, in summer the fire-place in the tent.
- iga in Greenlandic means: cooking pot
- ignaˈk [iŋnäʃˈaʰtit] firestone. The word iŋneq itself: fire, is not used here; on the other hand they use uˈkaˈ
- igunaq [mikiəq] tainted or rotten meat. In Thule this is called isuäŋneq, whereas igunaq in the rest of Greenland means only: rotten whale tail
- ihuŋˈaq [isuŋˈaq] arctic gull
- iðəriˈva [iʒlaʰtigəˈ] is amused at or laughs at one or it
- iðərnartəq or iglarəartəq [iʒlarnartəq] mirth-moving
- ikaˈrˈutitunˈaˈtaluarəma [ikaˈrˈqutluarəluarpakˈa] I do wish that they may be able to get over the river
- ikaˈrliˈpəq [ikˈarliˈpəq] strands (on a rock)
- ikˈərnautunˈaˈrpəq [qəˈanäŋˈinaˈrpəq] it is very warm (really: it is decidedly without cold)
- ikˈərnarpəq [qəˈanarpəq or iʃˈipəq] it is cold. In Thule the same word is used as among the Caribou Eskimos
- ikhiktäŋiaq very small bird that lives in the thicket and is fond of swinging on the branches
- ikˈitit [ikicisit] matches
- ikjərjivəq [qɑˈrsaivəq] lays mud under the sledge runners

- iklerivəq [ikiʃivəq] places or lays something in, as for instance:
 iklerianiktəq siəra^uja^urtumik: sugar has been put in
- iklerpəq [iʃla^{Er}ʃivəq] clears the traces
- iko[·]tit [kucukujə[·]rfik] fire-drill
- iktaq [siuneq] the nose of a sledge runner
- ilashehuertəq [ilisimajunna^{Er}təq] a sick person who suddenly becomes unconscious
- ileranartəq [igtərnartəq] one whom people are shy of. ileranartəq in Greenlandic means: one towards whom one has a bad conscience
- iluicəq [ilua[·]cəq] bad. In Greenlandic iluicəq means: whole, undivided
- ilupaq or atige inner coat of caribou skin. In Greenland ilupaq means shirt and in Thule the word atige is used of inner jacket of caribou or bird skin or a woolen jersey
- ima[·]riəq [nätləq] crossing-place for caribou
- ima[·]rpəq [nalupəq] swims
- imeraq [qajəq] gravy, soup
- imikluktaq [imiglut[·]aq (Thule)] a buzz-toy
- imikpəq collapses (a snow house)
- imitqutailaq [imerquta[·]iləq] tern; (really: the groinless one)
- im[·]o[·]ja[·]rtəq [pun[·]eq] butter
- imrohiu[·]jaq [qätlut] jar
- imruheq dipper of skin, tied to a stick. Probably the same word as the Greenlandic ER[·]nuseq: bottle
- ino[·]huktəq [nukäp[·]iaq or sukə[·]rsəq] a boy. In Greenlandic the word means a youth
- ino[·]huktuarjuk a male infant. In Greenlandic the word would mean: a little piece of young person
- ino[·]saktun[·]a[·]k [inuisa[·]ʔtut] get
- inuktaukuni [inuciala[·]ʃusia] he or she is a good person
- inuthiaq [inucialäk] a good person. (Thule: inuk[·]ala[·]q)
- in[·]meriaq [u[·]luin[·]ariaq] a distance that can be traversed in one day
- ipeq [ipeq] dirt
- iperautaq [ipera^utaq or iparauta[·]q] whip
- iperautit, long summer kamiks of hairless caribou skin
- iperaq [aleq] harpoon line (iperaq means in Greenlandic: a lamp-wick)
- ipera[·]rtuarpəq [nalə[·]rapəq] wades
- ipijəq [ipijəq] one who is drowning
- ipo caribou lance
- ipum[·]erpəq [nerisui[·]pəq] has no food. In Greenlandic the word means: keeps the mouth tightly closed

- isəɾartuʃəq [qanɛrlartəq] leader dog
 ithipəq [iʃipəq] gets something in the eye
 ivnertəretkut thong stretched between the runner noses to stiffen
 the sledge
 japat [anɔraʃq] jacket with a hood of cloth
 kaʃbjartitaq toy wind-wheel
 kakiʃla^utilik [kakiliʃaq] stickleback
 kakiʃət [aʃəʃa^utit] fork
 kamikpaʃt outer kamiks of caribou skin, worn over the caribou skin
 stockings. In Greenland the word is used of overshoes or
 European boots. In Thule it is used of kamiks of caribou
 skin or bear skin
 kamŋit small, short, outer kamiks, or rather, shoes of caribou skin,
 worn over the kamikpaʃt. In Greenlandic kameʃt or kaŋit
 means kamiks
 kanāŋnaq [avaŋnaq] north or north wind (kanāŋnaq in Greenlandic
 means: west wind)
 kaŋeq [tegarut or ipo] whip-handle
 kaŋəq [kaŋəq (Thule)] Canadian snow-goose
 katāk [katāk] entrance passage (to house)
 keːnaujaq [keːnāpāk] mask
 kiglut [kiglɔt] fireplace
 kilutːiariktəq [kilukicəq] one who sews with small, fine stitches
 kineq tongue or fore-flap on outer or inner coat of caribou skin.
 The word is known in Greenland
 kinipavəq [qa^userpəp; eruipəq; pitarsimavəq] is soaked through. It
 is this word that, owing to a misunderstanding, has given
 the Qaernermiut the name of Kinepetu. The explanation
 of this is: one rainy day an Eskimo woman from the
 country round Baker Lake had come on board a whaling
 vessel, wet to the skin. The captain asked her to what
 tribe she belonged, to which, not having understood him
 and thinking that he was referring to her appearance,
 she answered: "kinipatoː I am quite soaked through."
 The captain therefore thought that she was telling him
 the name of her tribe, and thus they have retained this
 to the present day.
 kiŋuk [kiŋuk] little shrimp
 kitːəriaq [ipːernaq] gnat
 kivāmːuarpəq [kujä^umukarpəq] move southwards
 kivāŋnaq [kujataː and kujasik] south, and south wind
 kivjaʃtit [kiʃa^utit or qioʃtit] scissors
 ki^wgavik [kiʃaviarʃuk] falcon

ki^wjarnilik swallow; (really: the one that is clipped, presumably having reference to the cleft tail. The head of the swallow is used as an amulet and is a remedy for indolence)

ku^mñut [kum'ut] back-scratcher

kutāp'əq [qituip'əq] has a dialectic accent. In Greenlandic the word kutāp'əq means: cannot speak distinctly (a child) or: lacks the ability to pronounce certain letters

qahuvəq [qasuvəq] is tired

qaja'həq [qaja'ʃəq] one who is drowned in a kayak

qajaq [qajaq] kayak

qajartərpəq [qajartərpəq] goes in a kayak, and of birds: swims (Greenlandic: nalup'əq)

qaklaktərpəq [quɛɾʃərpəq] coughs

qa'lertanar'pəq [qa'lertanar'pəq] is frightful

qalutaq fish spoon of a caribou scapula, with a hole in the middle through which the water can run out. qaluta^{ut} is known in North Greenland: ladle

qam'alivəq [qa^vlun'iar'pəq] is at the trading post to trade. (The Greenlandic word really means: goes to the place where qa^vluna't: the white men live

qanāk [qanāk] tent pole

qaujihaut (really, that with which one becomes wiser) [naluna^ɛrqu-taq] clock

qa^whiva'gfik [qa^gsiva^{ut}] thong for holding a woman's coat together; is worn over the breast and shoulders

qāt'əq water-container of unhaired caribou skin. In Greenlandic the word means a water pail of wood or metal

qāvfe [qap'ik] wolverine

qar^kʃa'q [qarʃa'q] red-throated diver

qarlik trousers of caribou skin. In Greenland the word qarlet is used of trousers of all kinds of skin and of cloth. In Thule they say nan'ut (really: bears) both of men's bear-skin trousers and women's fox-skin ditto, whereas qarlet there means: women's short undertrousers of sealskin

qa^trlutəq [qɛ^trlutəq] duck

qa^tru^wʒit birch, especially the bark, which the Indians use for sheathing their canoes

qeratanəq [pɛrlarnɛrit] heavy plaiting at the whiphandle to make the lash more effective

qergutit [inu^vkāt] playing cards

qijəqut [i^glɛɾfiuʃaq] box (the word really means: something of wood that belongs to one)

- qilukpəq [qilupˈəq] barks (a dog)
- qimukːätːa^ukuni [qimuluarpəq] is a good draught dog
- qimukseq [qimu^gseq] sledge
- qinmeq [qiⁿmeq] dog
- qinmiluarsiörtəq [Erniörtəq] feeds pups (a dog)
- qinmiluarta^juk [qiⁿmiaraq] pup
- qinːusaːrqaː [quːlörpaː] splits it (wood) with wedges
- qitiktut [inuːartut] card-players. (qiti^gtut in Greenlandic means: the dancing ones)
- qitörⁿqaq [pitoːtaq] trace. qitörⁿqaq means according Igjugârjuk: a trace: a band that holds one back, and from this is derived: a child that is always a hindrance on journeys
- qi^whareːkːut [qiːʃareːkːut] swivel for the traces
- quaq-quaq, pl. quaq-qugjät [tulu^gaq] raven
- quarnaq [maŋːertumineq] hard wood
- qublequliaq [toːjuk] ringed plover (*Aegialitis hiaticula*)
- qugjuk [qu^gʃuk] swan
- quɣhanartuarnialermimät [känːunarʃuarnialermiⁿmät] it will be silly; really: I will come to be ashamed of that
- quinikːuni [pualavəq] is fat (fox, wolf, dog, lemming, ermine, marmot and bird). The word pualavəq is not used among the Caribou Eskimos, but as here, or of caribou: tunːəqakːuni
- qukaːkuni [qukaːrpəq] merge into the surroundings, is difficult to find; mostly about land in certain lights
- qulicaq outer coat of caribou skin. In Thule the same word is used. In Greenland the word is known, but nowadays the word tiŋmiaq is more often used
- qu^wiarna^ukutit sinew plaiting, which is sewn on to the underside of boot soles to prevent slipping
- mahilik? is described as a bird that has round its head a pattern resembling the gills of a salmon
- majörarpəq sails up the river against the tide. The word is used in Greenlandic to mean: to sail against the current, on the sea too
- majulavəq [kuisimavəq] is baptized (really means: is ready to go up, i. e. to heaven)
- makjita^utit [qafːutit] fish-net
- makoːvəq [kama^gsaripˈəq or niqːä^gsaripˈəq] is easily angered
- maktaː skin as well as blubber of the white whale. If it is desired to say that it is fat matːak, one must say: maktaː ərholukːuni, and if it is lean matːak, maktaː ərholukːuni
- malunːartaq [quianartaq] something amusing, to laugh at. In Greenlandic the word malunːartaq means: something one takes notice of, something striking

mamiavala-k'uni [quianaip'ɔq] it is annoying, a pity. In Greenlandic the word mamianarpɔq means: it is shocking, indecent; one is shy of it (of meeting one, for instance, because one has done something that the other is sorry about)

manuaq [manuaq] the edge of the entrance hole from the passage into the house; a sort of threshold, which one comes up over from the passage below

maqait'ɔq [piniartɔq or sanivartɔq] one who is out hunting

mErjuin'āk'āt soles that are merely sewn on (without a fold or creases for decoration)

miäɔ'ɔrpɔq [miäɔ'ɔrpɔq] whines (a dog)

mikiaq [mikiaq (Thule)] raw meat. In the rest of Greenland the word means tainted meat

miteq, plural mEr'tqit [miteq] eider duck

naha^ujaq small upright tuft at the top of the hood, for decoration only. Not known in Greenland, but among the Aivilingmiut it is known under the name of kukup'ɔq

nahaq hood. In Greenland they say: nāsa^ujaq, in Thule nāsaq of a man's hood, nāsa^ujaq of a woman's hood

naibja badger(?)

nakep'ɔq [inɔrɔarup'ɔq] is slow, does not reach forward (of an arrow). In Greenland the word means: is not certain of hitting, whereas: "is slow" is called: suk'aip'ɔq

nake'tɔq [ko'kicɔq] weak (of the current in a river)

nakerpɔq is quick (of an arrow), or: shoots over the target. In Greenlandic the word means: is sure of hitting, whereas: "is quick" is called: suk'avɔq, and "shoots over the target" is called: qulait'ɔrpɔq

nakertɔq [ko'gtuɔq] swift (a river). nakertɔq in Greenlandic means: accurate (of a weapon)

naktɔraq toggle of caribou antler for fastening the line with which the dogs are tethered in a camp

naqitarut [naqitarut] lashing line for a sledge load

napa'rtɔq [ɔrpik] a tree; (really: that which stands upright)

napuliutin [napuliutit] thong for tying the cross-slats on a sledge

napun [naput] sledge cross-slat

nauja [na^uja] gull

nābluarpɔq fishes for salmon in a river. Possibly the Greenlandic nā^vlup'ɔq: fishes for cod, etc. from the shore, by throwing a long line out and drawing it slowly in, is the same word

nāktɔralik [nāt'ɔralik] eagle

- narqitarfik [narqitarfik] thong running along the sledge and through which the lashing line for the load is made fast
- ne'rle'rnaq [ne'rle'rnaq] barnacle goose
- nigjät skin fringing, sewn on the lower edge of the caribou-skin-coat (both outer and inner coat)
- nižerpəq [pikāⁿnerpəq or pavaŋarsarnerpəq] it is blowing a south-east wind; (in certain places also iŋ'äŋiarpəq; by this, however, in most places is meant: the Föhn wind. In some places in Thule they also say nižerpəq of south-east wind)
- nikha^utəq rock ptarmigan
- niksa'rpəq [ni^vlerpəq] makes a sound (animal), sings (bird), speaks (human being); niksa'rneq ajərnarsituarmat: it was impossible to make a sound. qanəq niksa'ruteqarpa? What sound does that bird make?
- nipalukpəq [siälerpəq] it is raining (Thule qif'arlu^gpəq)
- niviarjaq [niviarsiaq] a girl
- niviarjarajuk an infant foster-child
- nuiarpäk [nu^vfit] bird dart
- nujara^ulik heron(?)
- nukarərtəq [anätəq] one who is reborn (for instance by naming), one who has become young again (in legend for instance: Kiviərtəq tättimariarlune nukarərtəq: it is said that K. began his youth five times)
- nutarala^q [na'luŋiarſuk] infant
- nutaraq [me'taq] child. In Thule they say pera'paluk, whereas in Greenland nutaraq means: a young dog
- nuglut-äŋ ring game
- o'qarpəq [tuaviərpəq] hurries
- o'mihupəq [pätərpəq] beats his wife. In Greenlandic the word o'misupəq means: is cross
- o'nakuni it is warm weather. In Greenlandic the corresponding word: o'narpəq is only used about something that burns one, with the exception of the following special expressions: sila o'narsivəq: the weather has turned warm, and seqineq o'narpəq: the sun burns
- əqalroseq [əqalo'seq] way of expressing oneself. əqalo'seq is now used in Greenland, mostly with a special meaning: a sermon. The following illustrates the manner of using the word among the Caribou Eskimos: əqalroheriŋ'iŋfa-minik una əqaluktəq: he is speaking in a manner other than that in which he usually expresses himself

aqokuni it is warm (only in a house). In Greenlandic the corresponding word aqarpəq is only used of warm clothing or the warmth of the wind, cf. oṇakuni

orhulik [orʃulik] one with blubber on (a seal or a polar bear; the meat of the latter animal is not eaten as a rule even if it is accidentally secured)

orqarluktəq conifer tree; really: one who speaks badly; they think that the swish of the wind in the forests is a kind of speech

orʃitherpəq lay boot-skin or sole skin in blubber to soften

orviuʃaq [aluʃʰaʊt] spoon (which here is always made like a ladle, of musk-ox horn)

orəq [orʃəq] blubber, but here only seal blubber

orəraq [orʃəq] walrus blubber

palarpəq [palaʰvəq] is good

pat-äpəq [siumiʃsaivəq] strike. The word in Greenlandic means plays the piano (really: strikes the keys)

patugserpəq [isugut-arpəq] the dew falls

pautit [paʊtit] paddle

paʰq [paʰq] goosander

parlajəq [tugtunut pilerisuʔtəq or kamasuʔtəq] one who trembles with eagerness when hunting caribou

pelrät [perlaʰt] sledge shoes

peqataʊjərtuʰaraʊpəpəq [peqataʊsin-ʌrumalərpəq] though small, now at the age when he wishes to go with the others on the journeys

perʌrnerut hair band of caribou skin

perʔəfəraq "has skin like a marmot, teeth like a wolverine, claws like an owl, pointed ears, fast runner", probably a lynx

pialaʔtəq [areʰvəq] slow

pialajəq [qeʰlaʃəq] quick, prompt to act

pibse [eqaluk panərtəq] dried salmon

pihin-ʌarpəq [pisiʰsimik] [tuʰtuʊniarpəq] hunts the caribou with the bow

pihit-ərpəp [sanarʃərpəq] clothes himself. sanarʃərpəq is used at Thule and otherwise among the Caribou Eskimos in the sense: make ready to break camp = the Greenlandic pikivəq

pilaut [savik] knife (pilaʊt really: flensing implement)

piṇ-ʌrnerpəq [kiʰṇ-ʌarpəq or niʒərpəq] it is blowing a southwest wind

piṭhaʊṇitəq [picaʊṇicəq] something that is not good

piṭʰiaṇəʀjarpəq [pin-ərsarpəq] decorating himself

- pito [pito or pituk] draught line on the sledge, to which the dog traces are fastened
- pit·arqut [A·rḡuAq] amulet
- pəq·tʰjəq [pəq·e·cəq] dull-witted
- pualut mittens of caribou skin. The word is known in Greenlandic
- puhiktəq [kiḡ·uḡəq] one who capsizes in his kayak. Greenlandic: pusip·əq: turns the bottom upwards
- pukulukpəq [katerḡuivəq] gather together. pukulup·əq is used in Greenlandic either of a person who quickly plucks berries and eats them, or of birds pecking at seeds
- pulo·ja^ugtit [pujərta^ut] pipe
- pun·ERNAq [qaluneq] fat, in this case especially: boiled out of caribou bones
- puḡi [puiḡA·q] cat. Peculiarly enough, both here and in Greenland the English "pussy" is the root. They have seen these animals at the trading posts and among whalers
- putohiut thong for tying the dogs
- putuAq [putuAq] loops at the upper edge of the sole through which to draw the boot-lace (kiḡeq)
- saperjəq [Eqiasup·əq] is lazy. In Greenlandic the word saperpəq means: cannot, is unable to
- säbləqita·rpa· [sä^gLərit·Arpa·] fools, he deceives him
- säbluvəq [sä^gLuVəq] lies (prevaricates)
- sequmilaⁱt·uArlune [sequmis·a^uḡil·uArlune] there was no breaking it
- silaluk [sialuk] rain
- siəra^u·ja·rtəq [siəra^uḡāt] granulated sugar. In Greenland especially: castor sugar (really: that which resembles sand)
- suin·ARA·luk [so·ḡicupaluk] worth nothing
- ziḡ·avəq is jealous. In Greenlandic the word means: is envious. Is jealous is called: saḡiäp·əq of a man, and niḡArpəq of a woman
- tagjarpəq sails or paddles inland against the current, in contrast to situvəq, which really means that one slides down from the interior towards the coast, following the fall of the river
- talip·əq [tarip·əq] goes out of sight behind something. In Greenlandic the word talip·əq means: leans up against something, lies to alongside something (a vessel)
- tapqAq [tarqAq] deck-thong on a kayak
- tatiḡāk crane
- te·garut a short whip for driving the dogs out of the houses
- teriaq [teriAq] (Thule) ermine
- terigaⁿ·niaq [teri^gän·iaq qaqrtaq] arctic fox

- teritōraq a young one (common gender). In Greenland a young man is called inō'su^gtōq and a young woman niviarsiaq, whereas the word here means: a young, not fully grown animal
- tīblēterut [tupa] tobacco
- tigu^waq [qitōrnarsiaq] adoptive child
- tīqmīaq [nērleq] goose
- tīqmīaruq [tīqmīaruq] wild fowl
- tōglik [tō^hlik] great northern diver
- tōrlualik (really: one with a spout) [ō'na'vik] (really: something in which one heats something) kettle
- tōrluq sucking tube for drinking water from melting snow. In Greenlandic the word means: a tube-like thing, for instance a lamp-glass, an ear-trumpet, etc.
- tō'nraviaq [tō'nnaviarfuk] harlequin duck
- tuhaha'rpāra [tusa'maŋ'isara] something I have never heard before
- tuklit wooden sheath for wearing the hair plaits in, partly to protect the hair, partly for ornament. One is made on each side of the head
- tuk'ōrpōq [tuk'ōrpōq] one who gives much, a generous one
- tukpōq [ik'arlipōq] strands (right in on the shore). In Greenland the word tup'ōq means: strike, run against, fall down on the ground
- tuktiterqōq (really: make something lie close together) [tugticivōq] (Thule) builds a snow house
- tukto [tu^gto] caribou

In order to show what an astonishing vocabulary and what phenomenal specifying the language of even such a primitive tribe is capable of, I have grouped below the most common expressions regarding caribou, caribou hunting and everything connected with it.

- ažertōr^tjuit (really: the many that are coming), a special word for caribou approaching a ford in a flock
- akutaq mixture of the contents of the stomach of a caribou and seal blubber, first chewed into oil. In Thule the word means caribou fat, kneaded together with chewed seal blubber. In Greenland the word means: half bread
- ala^ks^haq skin of the caribou head and neck, intended for boot soles. ala^gfaq in North Greenland may be used of the skin of the bearded seal for soles, otherwise they use atuŋā^gfaq which is a term for the *whole* skin, whereas

- ala^gʃaq is the term for the sole only, cut out but not yet sewn on
- aṇuhäkləq young caribou, not yet fully grown. In Greenland the word is known, but is not really common
- atunǽʃ^haq the cut-out not yet sewn-on sole of caribou skin
- a^ukpiłäktəq newly-born caribou calf; the word really means: the red one, because the newly born calf's covering of hair has a reddish tinge
- aularqahiaq scare-crow tied to a cairn so that it may move in the wind
- a^ularqaji^gʃät cairns that are furnished with scare-crows (for caribou hunting)
- aquihəq fetches in winter the meat of caribou shot and cached in autumn. In North Greenland the word means: sits by a blow hole and waits for the seal to appear
- er^khitəq special kind of pitfall for caribou, built so that the animal is compelled to go in a certain direction, whereupon it falls down into the pit
- ertər^hit half-blunt skin scraper for caribou skin. The Greenlandic word erførsit means: scraper for skin in general
- ha^uniərtəq (really: makes bones) boiling fat out of caribou bones
- he^rlerhijəq one who softens caribou skins by lying with them at night, with the fleshy side against the naked body. This word is also used about the action of wetting the fleshy side of the skin with water, from which the chill is taken by first filling the mouth with it, and then folding the skin up with the hair outside and letting it lie throughout the night before treating it with the sharp skin-scraper. This latter process is also called imər^hivəq
- hiəq (mostly in plural) caribou hair that has fallen off
- hinigighaivəq softening caribou skin, giving it the very first treatment with a half-blunt skin scraper
- ibla^oq caribou foetus
- ihiptaq caribou skin for clothing, dried without being stretched. Such skins can be easily cured soft whereas stretched skins are always stiff and therefore are only used for platform rugs
- ihitaⁱnip^oəq a softened one (a caribou skin)
- ihitertəq one who is softening a caribou skin with the very sharp skin scraper
- ikort sharp skin scraper, which can remove the outermost layer of the skin so that it may be soft

im·a·ti·aq ford for caribou

im·ithiaq caribou skin set to soak so that the hair may be loosened and fall off

inukhuk, plural: inukhuit, stone cairn, especially at the crossing-places of caribou; on top of the cairn is a sod or tuft of grass to make the animals think that it is a man. inugsuk in Greenlandic: cairns in general; in Thule they are called sakamāt·āk

inukjugaq snow heap just beside a pitfall; beside it the hunter strews a little reindeer moss, on which he makes water (the caribou are partial to urine, this luring the animals to the place where the pitfall is concealed)

itigartut (really: those who desire to do something and are not allowed to) special word for caribou approaching a crossing place or ford and suddenly retiring

·itjākhaq very thin-haired caribou skin just moulted, so that there are still a few patches of the winter hair left on it. The name for the caribou skins that are used for tents. it·a^q·iaq: Greenlandic for sealskins for tents

ivalo caribou sinew thread. In Greenlandic the word ujalo is used (Thule ivalo) of sinew thread of both aquatic mammals and caribou

kanralāk not moulted caribou; the white winter hair is still on it, but among it can be glimpsed the new, dark hair

kapi·ij·aq, plural: kap·ærtut, those who stab caribou with the caribou lance from the kayak at the crossing place

kinipaj·aq raw, undried caribou skin

kulavāk caribou cow that has not been impregnated in autumn and therefore is fat in winter. In Greenlandic the word means: a caribou cow in general. In the Thule district they say: n·ə·ra·i·c·aq of an unimpregnated caribou cow in winter time

qa·χ·hi·taq [nak·a·riaq tu^gtunut] pitfall for caribou

q·ə·ra·t·aj·aq stiff, uncured caribou skin

qitukt·aq soft, cured caribou skin

qiv·e·r·āt newly moulted, thin-haired caribou skin from August and the beginning of September, especially suitable for coats

qun·i·aq un-haired neck-skin of a caribou. Also means a skin thong. Among the Caribou Eskimos all thongs are made of the neck-skin of the caribou, that part of the skin that is thickest

- maleruarpəq driving a swimming caribou towards the camp from a kayak
- maqaɪtəq one who goes hunting and remains away a whole day. In Thule they say: piśəraluḡtəq
- merquicəq caribou skin that has been laid to soak in order that the hair might fall off, and has now lost it, but is not yet dried for use
- mer^tquciarsimakunimai what a fine coat of hair it has! Otherwise the Greenlandic word merqəq: hair, is not used in connection with caribou, but only of foxes, wolves, dogs, lemmings, ermines, and marmots, as well as the plumage of birds
- nabləq [navləq] crossing place for caribou
- naḡmagiarpəq here used only in the sense: fetches newly-shot caribou in summer. In Greenlandic the word means: go out to carry something — no matter what — on the back in the tump-line
- neruvkaq [neru^vkaq] the contents of caribou stomach
- nivgo dried caribou meat. In Greenland the word nik'o is used of all kinds of dried meat
- nəralik [nəralik] caribou cow in summer with calf. In Greenland they say: nərate'k of mother and calf together
- nəraq [nəraq] caribou calf which has shed the woolly coat it was born with. In Greenland the word means in general: a caribou calf
- nukaturalik or nəraɪcəq [nəraɪcəq] caribou cow without calf
- nukatuāḡna'q two-year old caribou bull. In Greenland they say nukatuaq of a young bull, but without this very definite age-limit
- panataq the point of the caribou lance
- paner^sherpəq dries caribou skin. In Greenlandic one would say: panerse'vəq of drying skin in general. The word here really means: drying itself
- paḡneq [paḡneq] full-grown caribou bull
- papa'q [pə'q] membrane around the caribou foetus. In Greenland the word also has a special meaning: a "caul", especially known in the combination: aḡāk'ut poḡlit; for it is thought that one who is born with a caul has special abilities as a shaman
- pa^utuaq caribou skin dried by stretching. In Greenlandic the word pa^utugaq means any skin treated in this manner
- peilqa'q plaited sinew thread from caribou. In Greenlandic the word perla'q means plaited sinew thread of all animals

peruhāt [qin̄nerit] stone cache for caribou meat. In some parts of Greenland the word perufāt is used of a food cache in general, just as qin̄nerit is also a winter store in general, whereas among the Caribou Eskimos *only* a cache of caribou meat

pisōrajaq goes caribou hunting without having seen animals beforehand. In Greenland they say: au^warp̄aq of going on a caribou hunt on foot or with a sledge; pulav̄aq of going on a caribou hunt with the umiak into the fjords.

In Thule they say tu^gsiarp̄aq

pukeq the white belly-skin of the caribou

sequ^whiniaq one who cuts out caribou skin

sequ^whiv̄aq cutting out a caribou skin (for clothing or the like).

The Greenlandic word corresponding to this is ilis̄erp̄aq, but is used of all skins. The Caribou Eskimos also know this word

talo [talo] hunter's hide: a low mound of stones built on the way along which the caribou are driven, and behind which the Bowman lies in ambush

tihaj̄aq one who cuts caribou meat into slices for drying. The word is known in Greenland but is used indiscriminately of all meat, and of fish

tuktohäť, plural tuktohartut, only used in the sense: fetch newly-shot caribou meat in winter. The corresponding Greenlandic word tu^gtusarp̄aq means only in general: fetch caribou meat

tuktuliarp̄aq go hunting caribou after having seen animals beforehand. In Greenland they say: tu^gtuleriv̄aq, in Thule tu^gseriv̄aq

tuktuñniarp̄aq [tu^gtuleriv̄aq a^uläciv̄inne] hunts caribou by means of cairns furnished with scare-crows

tuktutula^rpuna [tu^gtup̄una] I have shot a caribou. The Caribou Eskimo word would mean in Greenlandic: I have eaten a little caribou meat

tun̄okik̄uni [salup̄aq] a lean one (a caribou). The word salup̄aq is never used by the Caribou Eskimos, who as here say of caribou: tun̄okik̄uni, of other animals quinī^rik̄uni

tun̄olik̄ [tun̄ulik̄] one on whom there is fat (a caribou or a land bear; the latter is not eaten as a rule)

tun̄aqak̄uni [quinīv̄aq] is fat (a caribou)

ukialeq caribou in autumn coat

ulamertaq (really: the round); a piece of caribou sinew thread ready for use

un'eq caribou skin that has been unhaired and made ready for use; this is done by letting the coat rot away. In Greenlandic the word means the same, but of sealskin
un'arupaq or qima'hivaq drives a caribou with a broken leg down to the camp

upātut [tu^gtərpä^gʃuarnik tu^gtulerissut] the special expression for hunting large flocks of caribou in migrating time. It also means: those who attack the caribou with the kayak after the animals have got out into the crossing place

tupäkpäq [tupäp'əq] wakens in the morning. Used in Greenland also with the meaning: be frightened

tupeq tent of caribou skin. In Greenland: tent in general either of skin or of cloth

tuvik shoulder bag (or the sac) on the women's dress, for decoration only

uarneq [avaŋnaq kanäŋnaq] northwest wind

uherarpäq [userarpäq] spill (from the top of a full pail or cooking pot)

ujät'iutit [ujäciutit] harness. In Thule the word anut is used, the real meaning being the draught harness of a dog

ukaleq [ukaleq] hare

ukamartaq [nusuka'ivəq] draws (a boat or canoe) up a river by means of a line. ukamarpäq means in Greenlandic: is rocking (something that stands on firm ground, for instance a chair). Also used of a fishing rod that has been set up in the ice and springs when there is a bite

ukpikjuaq [u^gpik] snow house

uleriariaq [utersariaq] a stretch that can be traversed to and fro in one day

um'arhimajäq [un'utilik] soles sewn with fine folds back and front

umiaq [umiaciaq] wooden boat

umiŋmäk [umiŋmäk] musk ox

unatarpäq [arqalavəq or pitarup'əq] the wind beats up the sea. (unatarpäq in Greenlandic means: the lance is repeatedly thrust into a harpooned marine animal; may also mean: strikes or thrashes himself)

un'ertarhin'arluq [ta'gin'artarluq] merely name it (by name)

userterpäq [sanaʃuiarpäq] undresses. userterpäq in Greenlandic means: takes his boots off

usijəq [usiʃəq] one who has a load on the sledge

uteruartaq [uterniartəq] a dog that will not pull, but wants to turn
back

utərqaq [utərqaq] old (of persons)

utərqartaq [itəqut] the head dog of a team

uvka [iqneq] fire or fireplace

u^vkusik [aiga] cooking pot. In Greenlandic the word u^vkusi^gʃaq
means soapstone

u^waleq [kita·] west. u^waleq in Greenlandic means: afternoon

u^walerpəq [kanäḡnarəq] blows a west wind

u^wləromita·rwik [uvlup qerqa] noon

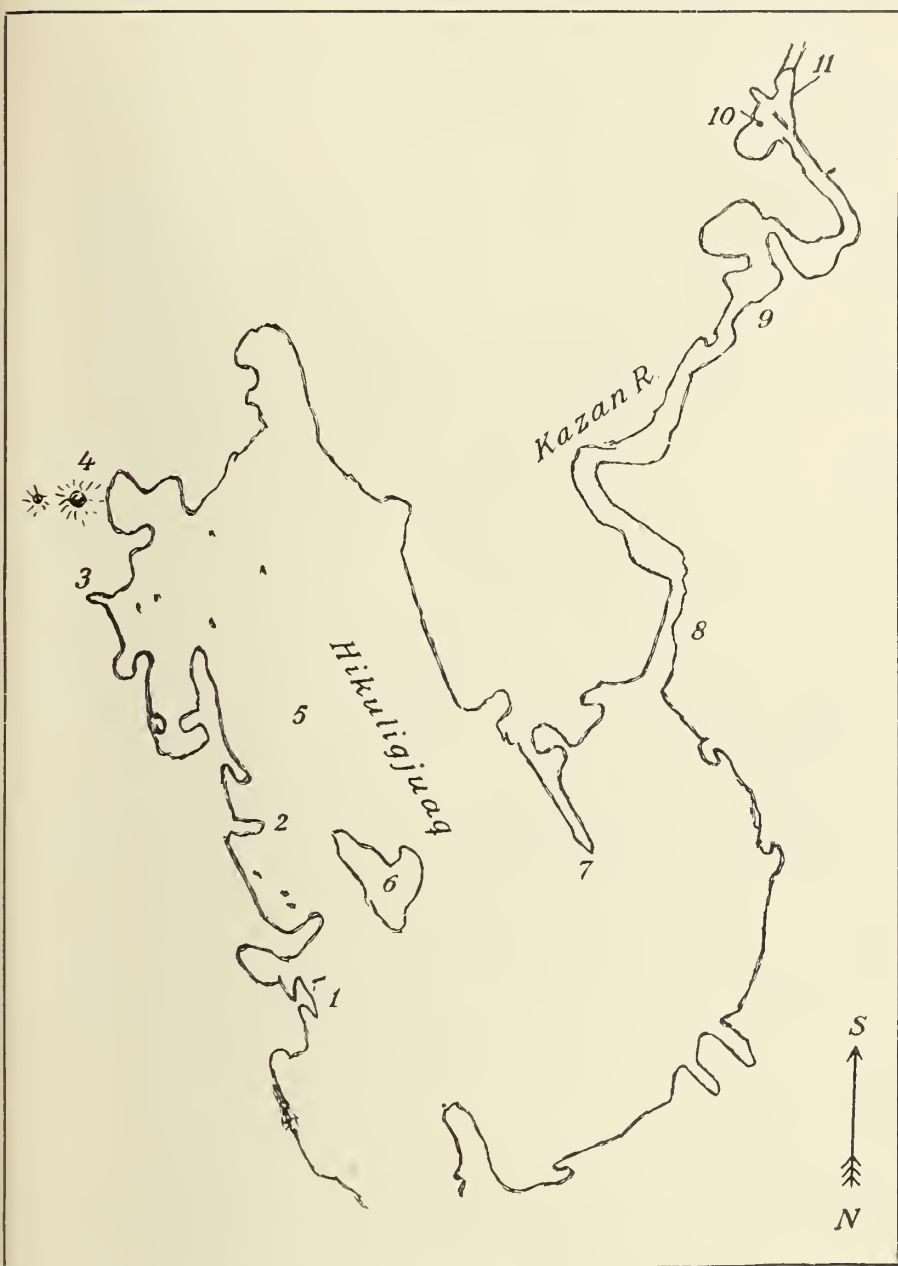
XI.

Place names according to sketch-maps from Caribou Eskimos.

SKETCH-MAP IV

*Lake Hikoligjuaq (Indian: Lake Yathkyed). Drawn by Utahania.
The region looking from north to south.*

1. uluḡḡaḡ — the ulo-like. A peninsula which, in shape, recalls an ulo.
2. ihatig'juaq — meaning unknown. Here: a point.
3. kit'lineq — the extreme boundary. A stretch of coast.
4. ujaralig'juaq — the stony one. Here: a hill.
5. hikolig'juaq — the great ice-filled one. The Eskimo name for Yathkyed Lake, where the ice never thaws entirely.
6. himel'rutaq — the cork. Here: an island, lying in the middle of the lake and, seen from a distance, cutting off the view like a cork. A name also commonly used in Greenland for islands in lakes or the mouths of fjords.
7. tikerā'rjuaq — that like a big index finger. Here: a long, narrow point.
8. paṭle'rjuaq — the big willow thicket, or: the withered branch. Upper Kazan River empties into Hikoligjuaq, where there is much thicket.
9. uhugtoṗ nunaṛ — the land of Uhugtôq. The name of a man who once lived here (means: the big penis). Lies at a broad in Kazan River.
10. qaḡlunaṛqarwik — the place with the white men. An island in Ennadai Lake, where the Hudson's Bay Company has a trading post.
11. qeqertarahātṛeq — the one with few islands. The Eskimo name for Ennadai Lake.



Sketch-Map IV.
Lake Hikoligjuaq (Indian: Lake Yathkyed). Drawn by Utahania. The region looking
from north to south.

SKETCH-MAP V

*Hikoligjuaq and its nearest surroundings. Drawn by Puker'luk.
Looking from north to south.*

1. qahu'lrä'tat (in Greenlandic would be qasublagtaufut) — the place where the wind drops now and then. Here: some hills in the vicinity of Kazan River.
- 2.—3. kiŋaq the mountain. Here: the name of two adjacent mountains both visible from Kazan River.
4. qamanau^waq — the big broad. Here: a lake, fed by Kazan River.
5. qa^Ertua'rjoraja'q — the place that is almost full of smooth rocks. A stretch of country with numbers of gneiss knolls.
6. qa^Ertua'rjuŋna'q — the dear little gneiss knoll. Here: a small hill.
7. ignerit — the firestones. Here: a mountainous stretch.
8. mō'rjuŋna'rjuk — the dear little place where it (i. e. the river) becomes lost. Here: a village where Kazan River runs out into a lake.
9. qe^Eerta'rjuaq — the big island.
10. aulätjivik — the flapping place (i. e. where there are cairns furnished with pieces of skin that flap in the wind, for caribou hunting). Here: a lake, through which Kazan River runs.
11. mō'rjuŋne'rjuaq — the big place where it (i. e. the river) becomes lost (cf. 8). The outlet of Lower Kazan River into Hikoligjuaq.
12. mōre'lrō'rjuaq — the big smooth one. Here a mountain, domical in shape.
13. qiuli'tjuaq — plenty of wood, or fuel. Here: a hill with a lot of thicket.
14. pualuliørfet — the places where one sews mittens. A ridge near Hikoligjuaq.
15. kō'rgaq — the river. Here: a small stream running from Hikoligjuaq to another lake.
16. han'iqajōq — that lying across. Here: a long lake lying across Hikoligjuaq.
17. nikta'rwik — the place where the sky becomes clear, a hill close to Hikoligjuaq.
18. eqitqōq — the little finger. Here: a small, narrow point.
19. kakiātō'rjuaq — really: the hard one; in this case doubtless: the clear, transparent one. The name of a small lake near Hikoligjuaq.

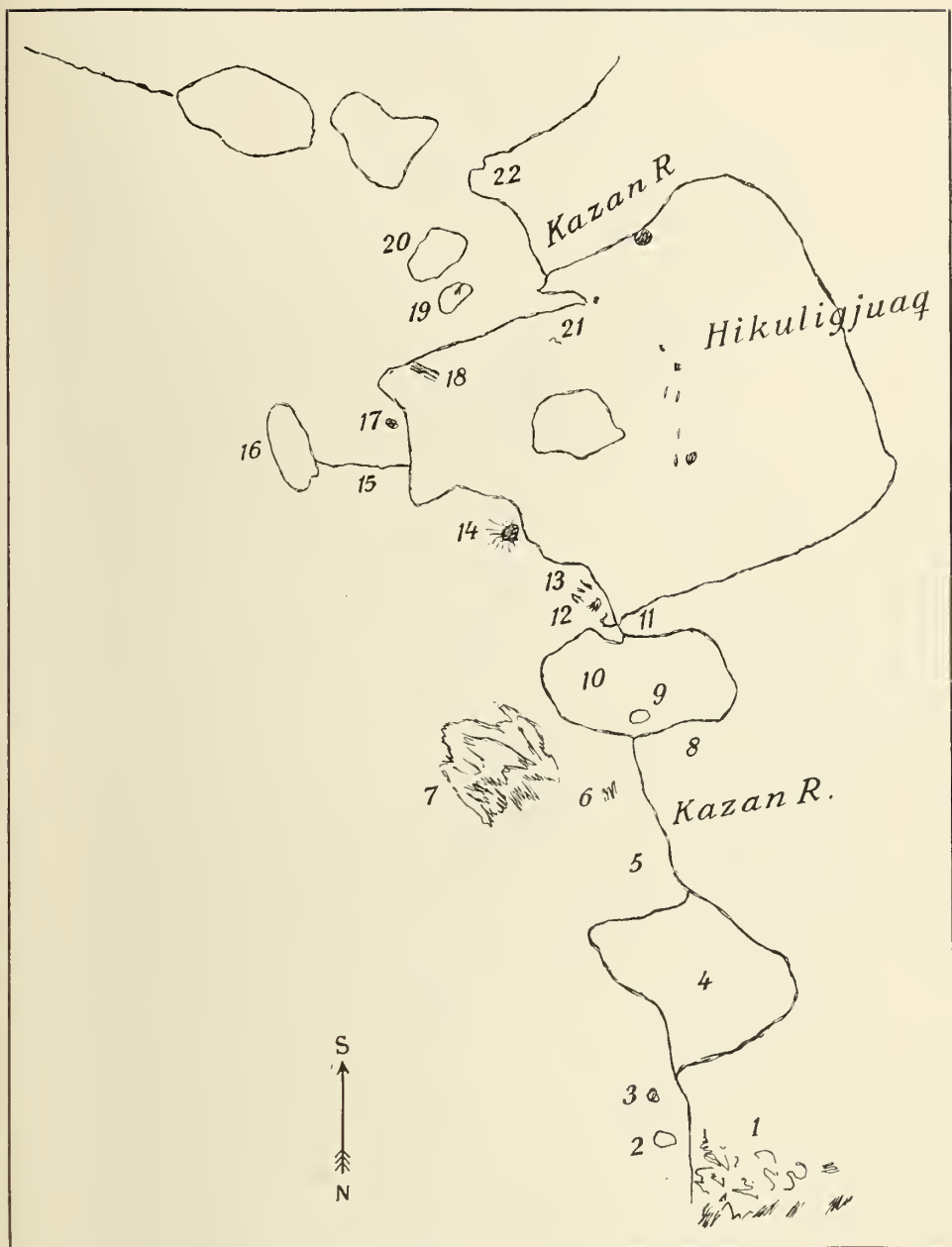
20. imakuluk — the little water. Here: a lake, southwest of Hiko-ligjuaq.
 21. pa'tle'rjuaq — cf. Sketch I, 8.
 22. haṇuṇanera — the turn. A place in the upper course of Kazan River where it makes a sharp bend.

SKETCH-MAP VI.

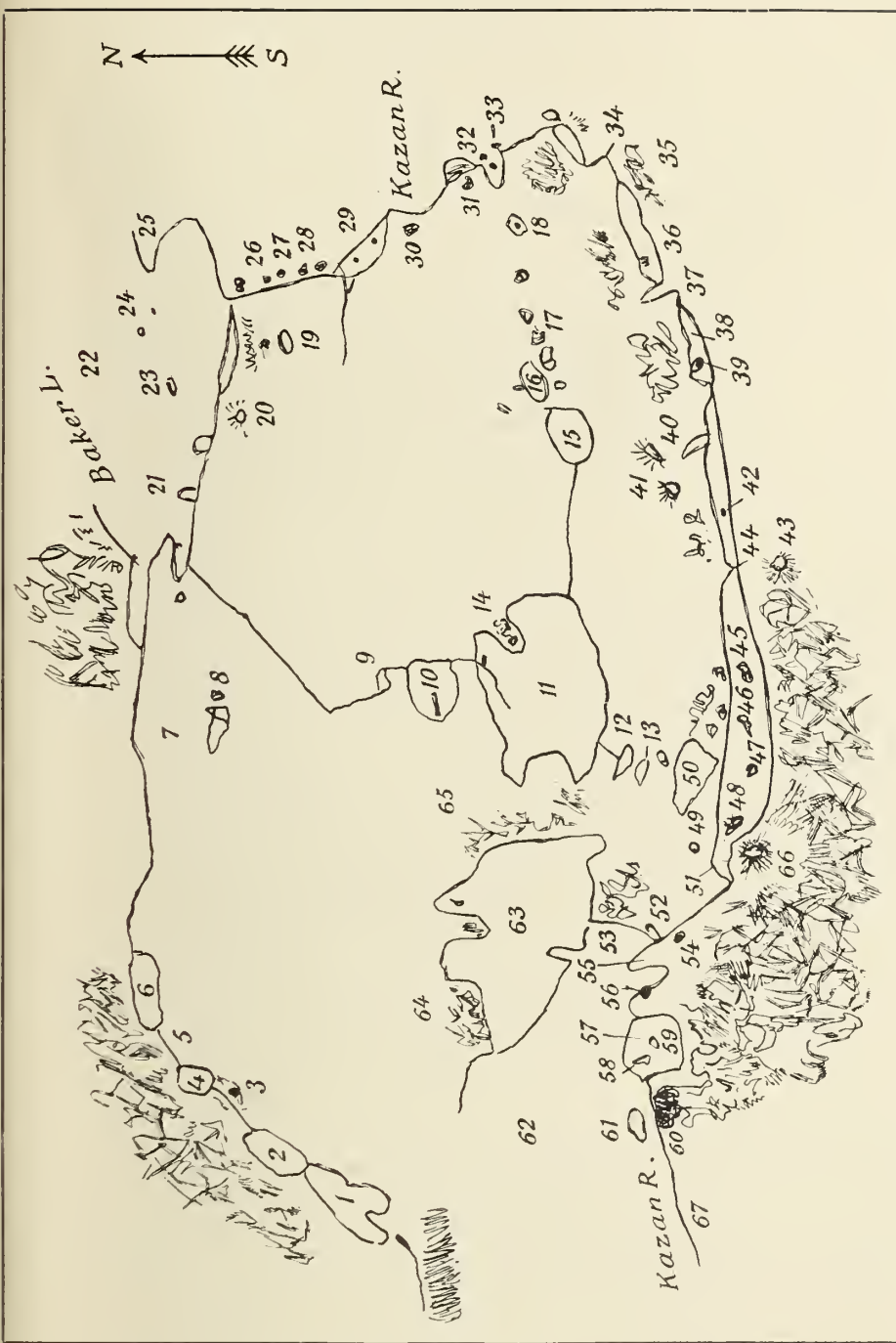
Kazan River from Baker Lake to Nahiktartorvik and Qamanerup kūa to Iglorjualik, with Taherjuaq and Tahilugjuaq. Drawn by Puker'luk. Looking from south to north.

The course of Kazan River from Nahiktartorvik to Baker Lake has here been drawn with a greatly exaggerated turn as a protest against Qijoqut, who in Puker'luk's opinion had drawn the river much too straight, see Sketch VII.

- 1.—2. qamaneq — the broad. Aberdeen Lake, here drawn as two lakes, through which Thelon River runs.
3. iglō'rjualik — the place with the big house. An island in Schultz Lake, where there is a formation resembling a house. The name is also used of the lake itself.
4. qamana'wān'uaq — the little broad. A lake, traversed by Thelon River.
5. akjāktalik — the place with something like a hand. A locality at Thelon River.
6. qamaneq — the broad (cf. 1—2). Here: a lake through which Thelon River runs.
7. na'rhalu'gjuāq — really: the big plain. Here: a lake.
8. ihu'gliarutia — that with which it is made bigger. Here: a small lake just to the east of No. 7.
9. aimaukat'āṇna'q — the fiercely glowing one (?). A locality by the river that comes from Tahilugjuaq.
10. aimaukāt'ātjuaq — the big glowing one (?). A lake through which the same river as that named under No. 9 flows.
11. tahilu'gjuāq — the big lake.
12. tuglik — the nearest. A lake just south of Tahilugjuaq.
13. to'gliuartalik — plenty of great northern divers. A lake south of No. 12.
14. tikerartuaq — that like a big index finger. Here: a point in the northeast part of Tahilugjuaq.
- 15—16. arna'quāḡja'ṇuit — the dear little old women. Two lakes which, by means of a river, are connected with Tahilugjuaq.



Sketch-Map V.
Hikuligjuaq and its nearest surroundings. Drawn by Puker'luk. Looking from north
to south.



Sketch-Map VI.

Kazan River from Baker Lake to Nahiktartorvik and Qamanerup kua to Iglojualik, with Taberjuag and Tahiluguaq. Drawn by Puker'luk. Looking from south to north.

17. *kiŋ'ait* — the mountains. Mountainous part just east of Nos. 15—16.
18. *pualrenalik* — the place with the snow shovels. A lake east of No. 17.
19. *amilukiägtalik* — the place with the pieces of skin. A lake south of Baker Lake.
20. *nau'ha'q* — the hood-like one. Hill on the south side of Baker Lake.
21. *tikerakuluk* — the poor index finger. A point lying south of Baker Lake.
22. *qamanertuaq* — the big broad. The name of Baker Lake itself.
23. *ərpiktujaq* — plenty of thicket. Small island in Baker Lake, where the Hudson's Bay Company has a post.
24. *tərnäktaklit* — the one endowed with spirits. Two small islands in Baker Lake where spirits are said to sojourn.
25. *manimajaq* — the even one. A point on the east side of Baker Lake.
26. *alaneriktəq* — the place where there are plenty of soles (?) A ridge in the vicinity of the outlet of Kazan River into Baker Lake. Possibly a place frequented by old caribou bulls; soles are made of the neck skin of these.
27. *niaqun'otit* — those that cause headaches. A ridge near Kazan River. Presumably difficult to cross with a load on the head; uneven ground, so that the tump-line over the forehead quivers and irritates the head when walking.
28. *aipajaq* — the raw one. A hill, presumably with a reddish tinge that recalls raw meat.
29. *qamana'rjuk* — the little broad. A lake through which Kazan River runs.
30. *qilāŋ'əqtarwik* — a place where one stands without a back-ground against the sky. A hill near Kazan River.
31. The same as No. 30. Likewise a hill, to the east of the preceding one.
32. *aχeriäktuaq* — the place that is difficult to reach. A hill near Kazan River. The name probably arises from the fact that it can be seen from a long distance off and one is a long time in getting up to it.
33. *italiərfik* — the place where the tent-skins are sewn together. A sharp turn in Kazan River, where camps are often pitched.
34. *per'qaaq* — the turn, or the river elbow. A sharp turn in the course of Kazan River.

35. akunrit'uaq — the big interval. A ridge between two frequently used camping grounds near Kazan River.
36. it'aliər'fik — cf. No. 33. A similar locality.
37. per'taq — cf. No. 34. A similar locality.
38. tahe'rquciaq — the rather welcome lake. Just here Kazan River is full of rapids with a swift flow where the ice breaks up early in spring. On the other hand it remains on the lakes until July. For people travelling with a sledge it is pleasant to escape the portages and be able to drive over the lakes instead.
39. puä'lqinaq — the snow shovel. An island in the above-named lake. The name presumably refers to the shape of the island.
40. itib'neq — the ford. A hollow between two higher parts at Kazan River.
41. kiŋ'arjuit — the big mountains. A ridge near Kazan River.
42. puä'lqinaq — cf. No. 39. A similar locality.
43. qar'nilu'gjuaq — the place where something has been broken into pieces by violence. A hill presumably with many loose, frost-split rocks.
44. qo'gilrəq — the narrows. Locality at Kazan River where the river has a narrow course between two broad lakes.
45. nə'rha'r'rhivik — the place where one has got a caribou calf. An island in Kazan River.
46. qikersitə'rleq — the little bit of an island. An island in the same broad as No. 45.
47. pitləqut — the land mark. An island in Kazan River.
48. huləraq — the whiplash. Locality on the banks of Kazan River.
49. qeqertalu'gjuaq — the big island.
50. qarajaha'lrəq — the side room. A cove with a narrow mouth in a lake near Kazan River.
51. qin'un'aq — the favourite cove. The far end of a lake through which Kazan River flows.
52. kiŋ'aq akə'rleq — the middle mountain.
53. ko'n'uaq — the little river. A tributary to Kazan River, connecting it with Tahilugjuaq.
54. kiŋ'aq — the mountain. Locality near Kazan River.
55. nəbluarwik — the little crossing place. Shallow water passage in Kazan River where the caribou swim over.
56. kiŋ'aq — the mountain.
57. o'man'aq — the heart-shaped one. An island in a lake.
58. qeqerta'rjuaq — the big island. Situated in a lake.

59. qamaṇa^uaq — the broad. A lake through which Kazan River runs.
60. nahigtartōrwik — the look-out point. A hill, from which a look-out is kept for the caribou in migrating time.
61. tikta^llik — a species of trout; a lake in which lives a kind of trout called tikta^llik.
62. natin^{eq} — meaning unknown. The name of the region between Nahiktartorvik at Kazan River and Thelon River. Probably means: the big stretch of land with no permanent villages (related to ualia^q, which down by the coast is often the term for an uninhabited part of the coast; likewise the term ualia^{rmiut}, which is the name of a small, isolated inland tribe at Lake Pelly on the upper course of Back River, a tribe that lives far away from all others and whose tribal name may doubtless be translated with: the remotely dwelling ones).
63. tahe^r'juaq — the big lake. Situated north of Kazan River and connected with it by ko^{nua}q, cf. No. 53.
64. tulāktuit — those who put in to shore (?). A ridge along the northwest side of tahe^r'juaq, and the name-giver has possibly, when he saw the hills from a distance, received the impression that they looked like something which, coming from the lake, was putting in to the shore.
65. kiṇ^{ar}juit — the high mountains. A ridge east of tahe^r'juaq.
66. ihuṇ^{aq} — the arctic gull. Group of hills east of No. 60.
67. ha^rrwāqtō^q — the one with the swift whirlpools. The name of Kazan River itself.

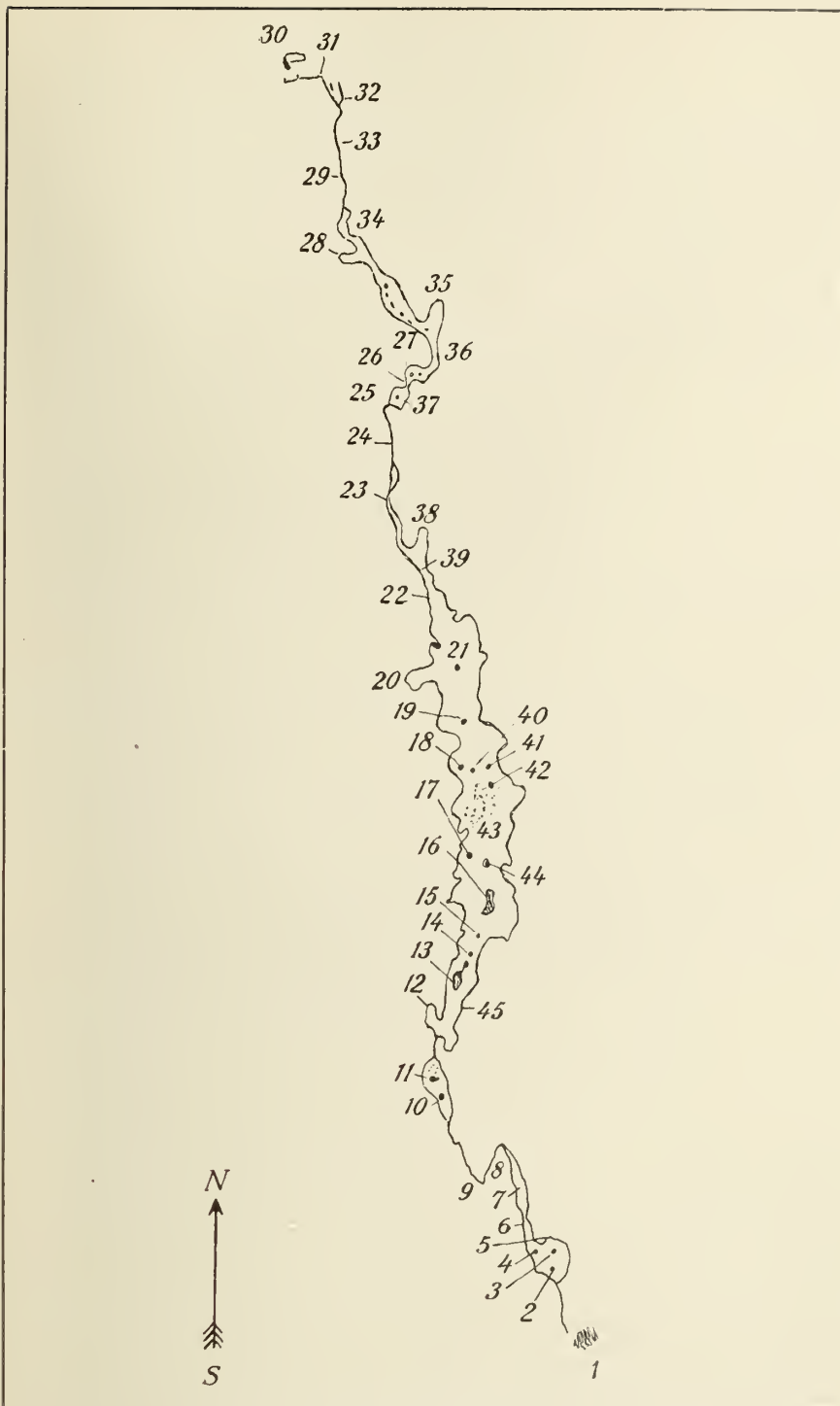
SKETCH-MAP VII

Kazan River from Nahiktartorvik to Baker Lake.

Drawn by Qijoqut. Looking from south to north.

1. nahigtartōrwik — cf. Sketch III, 60.
2. qeqerta^rjuaq — cf. Sketch III, 58.
3. o^mraⁿaq — cf. Sketch III, 59.
4. qikertaq — the island. Lies in a broad in Kazan River just east of No. 1.
5. a^ria^rleq — frequently-used name for a river bed. Locality north of No. 4.
6. a^ulāciviarjuk — the little flapping place, cf. Sketch II, 10. A broad in the river.
7. qamaneq — the broad.
8. itivne^rṇaq — cf. Sketch III, 40.

9. năḅluarwik — cf. Sketch III, 55.
10. qahə'rna'in — the quiet one. Island in a broad.
11. quiarhigta'jarwik — the place where somebody has slipped.
Island in the same broad as the preceding one. It is said
that a caribou once slipped and fell here; hence the
name.
12. qarajahägluk — cf. Sketch III, 50.
13. qeqertalugjuaq — cf. Sketch III, 49.
14. mani'gjəq — the smooth one. A flat island in a broad of the
river.
15. piləqut — the leaf. An island that is so small that it is
compared with the leaf of bilberries.
16. mau'vutarwik — the place where the foot sinks in. Island in
a broad of the river.
17. qeqersitə'rleq — cf. Sketch III, 46.
18. ujarahu'gju'lik — the stony one. Island in a broad of the river.
19. hapaŋartalik — the place where hapaŋaq is. Island in the river,
where a man of that name was once killed. hapaŋaq
(Greenl.: sapaŋaq), means bead. In this sense the word
is no longer used here (bead is called huŋa^ujaq), but it
is rather interesting that it has been preserved as a
proper name.
20. kaŋerlulugjaq — the bay. An indentation in a broad in the
river.
21. amer'lərtəq — the one with the poor coat. An island that is
presumably naked and barren.
22. qo'qi'ləraq — cf. Sketch III, 44.
23. perqia'rjuk — the little bend, cf. Sketch III, 37.
24. perqeq — cf. Sketch III, 37.
25. qərlərtəq — the waterfall.
26. năḅlə'rju'jaq — the big ford or crossing place.
27. kisimija'ja — its only ones. Two small islands in a lake.
28. qin'əra^ujaq — the bay-like. A broad bend in the river.
29. pərnigtuaq — the big bend.
30. ərpiktujaq — cf. Sketch III, 23.
31. qamaniktuaq — cf. Sketch III, 22.
32. akəq — the river mouth.
33. na'loniktuaq — the big straight. A place where the river has
no bends.
34. pərqeqtə'q — the many bends.
35. kitlinai^vaq — the extreme limit. The last turn in a big bend.
36. năḅlutuaq — the only crossing place.
37. iktaliərwik — cf. Sketch III, 33.



Sketch-Map VII.

Kazan River from Nahiktartorvik to Baker Lake. Drawn by Qijoqut. Looking from south to north.

38. itibne'rtuaq — the big ford.
39. itibneq — the ford.
40. nōrarsivik — cf. Sketch III, 45.
41. nōrarsivigjuaq — the big one, where a caribou calf has been taken. An island in a broad of the river.
42. mihi'gta'rwik — the place where one jumps. An island in the river.
43. qikertāt — the islands.
44. qikertartuaq — the big island.
45. papikāk — the two tail feathers (of a bird). A locality on the banks of the river.

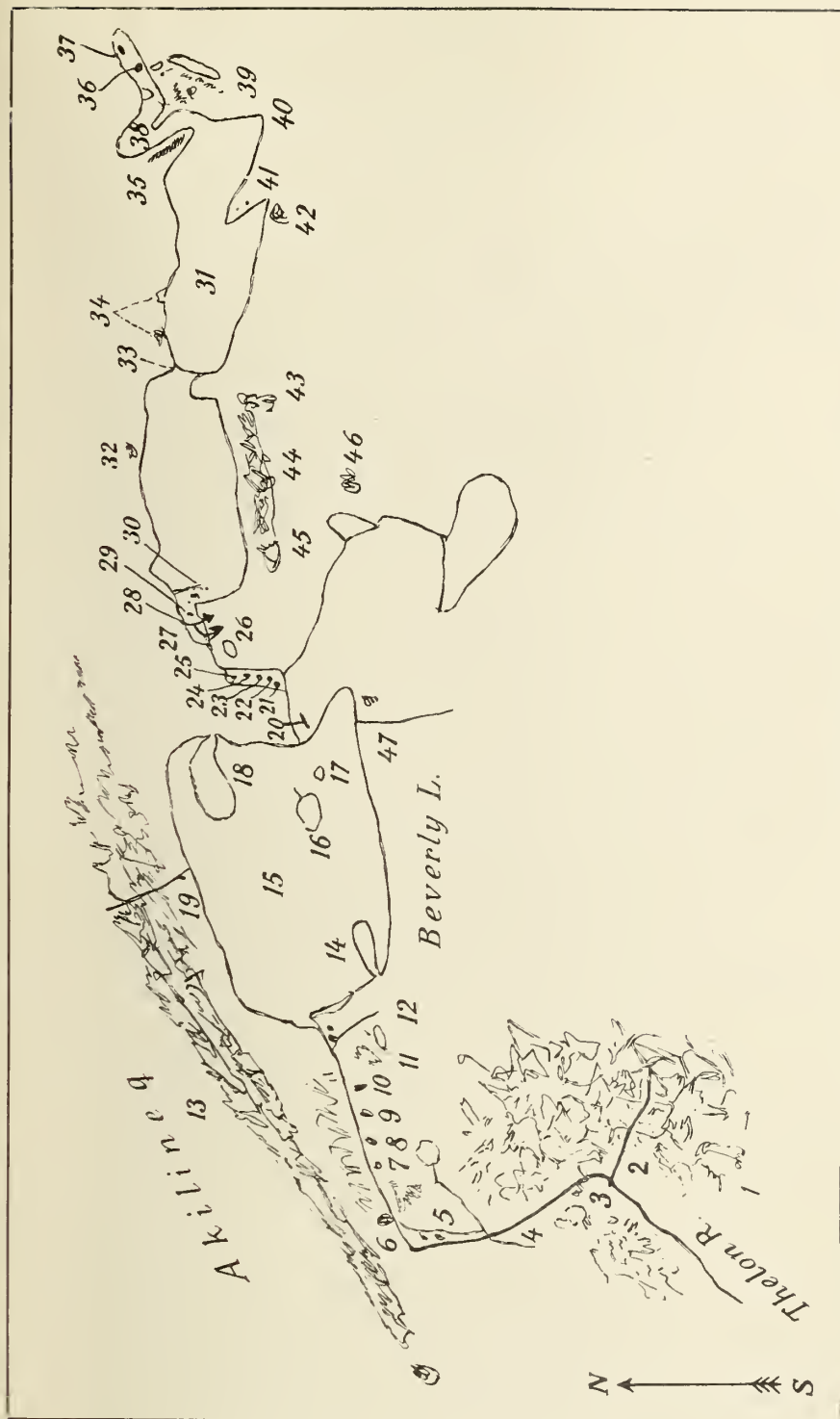
SKETCH-MAP VIII

*Akilineq and Thelon River with environs. Drawn by Puker'luk.
Looking from south to north.*

1. aklajet — the place with the land bears. Timbered district with a tributary to Thelon River, favourite place of black bears.
2. tarajulgiät — the salty one. Tributary to Thelon River, cf. No. 1.
3. napa'rtumiät — woodlands. Country covered with conifers, at Thelon River.
4. qamanerup or qamarñup kora — the river of the broads or: the river with the many broads. The Eskimo name for Thelon river.
5. qitga'rwik — the place (?) where one must go through talus. (qizəq means talus). Tributary to Thelon River.
6. itqile't nunat — the land of the Indians. Locality where Indians are often met with.
7. pernertuaq — the big bend.
8. perna'rjuk — the little bend.
9. kiñ'ān'a'lik — the place with the curious hills.
10. nākluktuq — the big crossing place.
11. kiñ'arjuit — the small hills.
12. tuktualik — the caribou country. Tributary to Thelon River.
13. akilineq — that which lies above or on the other side of where one is. Here: a ridge along the north side of Thelon River. The place is famous among all Eskimos in these regions, because the village just opposite was, prior to the coming of the trading post, the place of assembly for tribes from Churchill, Chesterfield, Baker Lake, Netsilik, Back River, indeed right down from Victoria Land. There they congregated to barter, at the same

time securing wood for sledges, kayaks, etc. There were frequently great festivities in connection with these markets, and sometimes they ended in wars between the tribes. The ridge has received its name from the fact that it lies on the other side of the river just opposite the place of assembly. Otherwise the word is very common among all Eskimos as the term for land that is on the other side of a water; for instance the Greenlanders call the Canadian Eskimos *akilinermiut*.

14. *ika'rtalik* — the place with the meat-platforms. A point that runs out on the southwest side of Beverly Lake.
15. *tibjalik* — the place with the many washed-up tree trunks. Every spring, when the ice breaks, when Thelon River goes over its banks, a large quantity of fir trees are pulled up by the root, carried by the stream and drift ashore here; *tibjaq* (Greenl.: *tipisimaſeq* or *tivsaq*) means: something washed up. The tree trunks are flung far up on to the banks and lie there when the river falls again. They then dry very quickly and can immediately be used, whereas the trees the Eskimos have to fell themselves have first to be dried. *tibjalik* here is the name of Beverly Lake, and it was this region that supplied all the Caribou Eskimos, and also the people from Hudson Bay and from the whole of the east part of the Northwest Passage, with timber.
16. *ume'vik* — the capsizing place, presumably because somebody has capsized here and drowned. The name is very interesting in so far as it presupposes, perhaps, a knowledge of the *umiak* (*umiät*); for capsizing in a kayak they use the word *pusip'eq*. The tribes at present living about here have no knowledge whatever of the skin boat, and call a canoe, which is the only form of boat that they know, *qajariaq*. The name is also much used as a place name both in Greenland and in Alaska. And in this connection it might just be mentioned that to the Inland Eskimos in Alaska the *umiak* was quite indispensable on all river journeys. Here the place is a small island in Beverly Lake.
17. *tigsigtarwik* — the laughing place, presumably because at the little island which bears this name something has once happened that has been amusing to such a degree that the place was named after it.



Sketch-Map VIII.

Akilineq and Thelon River with environs. Drawn by Puker'luk. Looking from south to north.

18. iʒarərtuaq — the big wing. Here: a point on the northeast side of Beverly Lake.
19. qa'gʒāt — the future platform skins. Here: a river, presumably with a crossing place for caribou, where it was easy to procure platform skins.
20. mə'rjuŋnertuaq — the place where it (i. e. the river) disappears. Here: Thelon River's outlet into Beverly Lake.
21. u^wiuk — the increase, or: that with which the others are increased. Here: the outermost island of a row of small islands in a lake between Beverly Lake and Aberdeen Lake.
22. iʒagwina — *either*: the place where sea-birds, which in moulting time cannot fly, sojourn (iʒaq, plural iʒāt); *or* that to which one can stretch the hand. Here: a small island, lying just by the side of the preceding one.
23. ijaitlarwik — the place where one had to howl with fear. Here: a small island. The name must refer to some dreadful occurrence here.
24. inuksulik — the one equipped with cairns. Here: a small island close to the foregoing ones.
25. nəʒarnaq — the place where one gets caribou calves. Small island near to the above.
26. milugiaq — the place where the young must be suckled; (it is also used sometimes of blow-flies, which occasionally appear in large numbers and cover all meat). Here: a small lake west of Thelon River.
27. igʒuartarwik — the place of cold shivers. Locality near the sledge trail at Thelon River.
28. itqilertāt — the killed Indians. Locality at Thelon River. The name probably refers to the fact that Indians have once been killed here.
29. naujaɾ — the young gulls. Here: an island.
30. uneq — the armpit. Bay near a point on the northwest side of Aberdeen Lake.
31. iglərjualik — the place with the big house. Really the name of an island in Thelon River just east of Schultz Lake, but as a rule used as a term for this lake itself.
32. patertariarwik — the place where one goes in order to eat marrow. A hill just north of Aberdeen Lake.
33. qə'rⁿqəq — really: a narrow place, but also used as here of a river running between two lakes that are close to each other. Here it is a locality between Aberdeen Lake and Schultz Lake. Is also a commonly used name in Green-

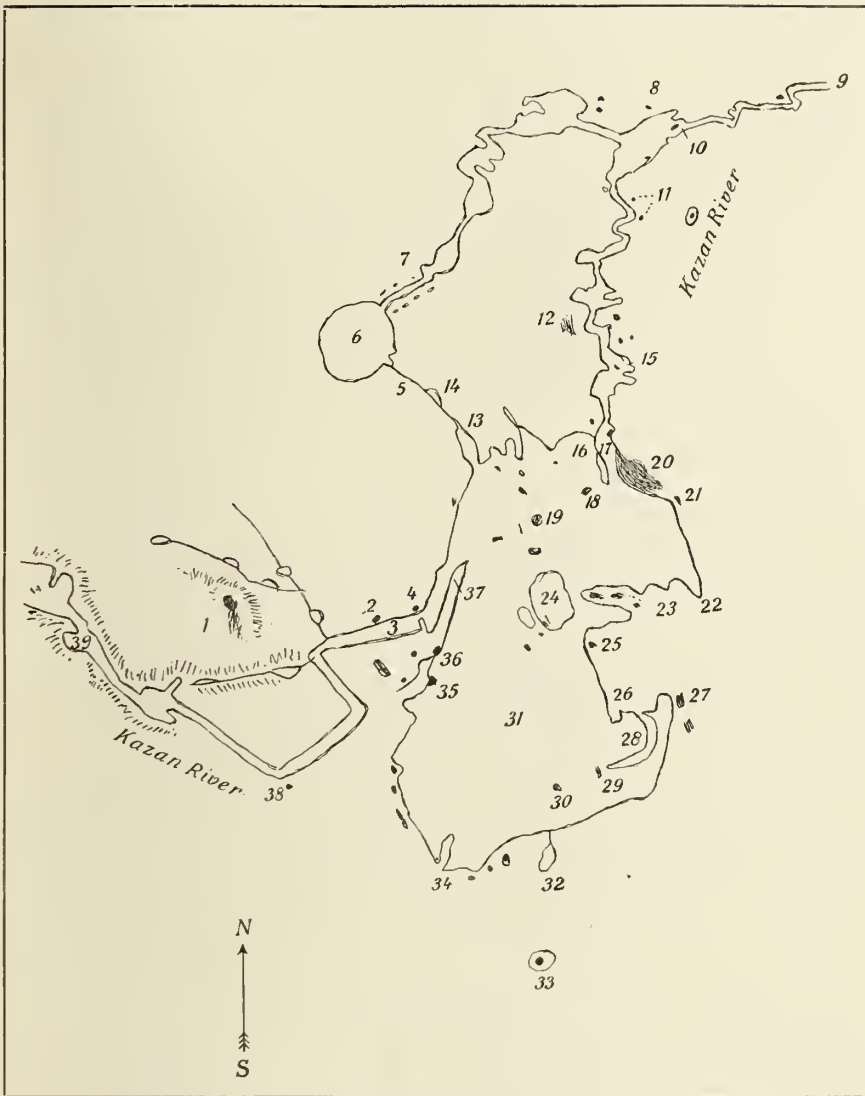
- land, for instance qərənəq, trading place in the Godthaab Fjord.
34. kɪŋʌˈrʊktʊʌq — the hills that terminate. Two hills just north of Schultz Lake.
 35. pɛrɣɪktʊʌq — the big bend.
 36. ɪgləˈrʊʌlɪk — cf. No. 31. Here it is the name of a part of the river itself.
 37. ɪgləˈrʊʌŋa — its house. Here: the island from which the name of No. 31 and 36 arises.
 38. pɪtəˈtʌq — the trace. Here: a long, narrow point.
 39. hanˈɪŋəjəq — the one that lies across. Here: a lake lying across the river course.
 40. kaŋɛrluk — the bay. Here: a locality in Schultz Lake.
 41. kajəp — the brown or the red-brown. Here: a point in Schultz Lake.
 42. qarägtəq — the smoothly arched (Greenlandic: qʌˈrajutəq). Here: a hill near Schultz Lake.
 43. əɾqəɾmiugtät — those that lie in shelter. A locality in a ridge west of Aberdeen Lake.
 44. qɪmɛˈrʊʌq — the big back (of a ridge). A part of the preceding one.
 45. nɛflɛrmiutʌˈrʊʌq — the big goose-haunt. A lake near the ridge named in No. 43.
 46. qɪlɛɾnəˈɾwɪk — the place where a knot is untied. Here: a hill. It happens now and then that one drags a small sledge behind the big sledge. Should one have to cross this hill for hunting purposes, the trailer-sledge would have to be loosened off here.
 47. napʌˈrtʊʌrtʊlɪk — the one with the small trees. Here: a small river, running out into Beverly Lake.

SKETCH-MAP IX

Lake Hikoligjuaq and environs. Drawn by Igjugârjuk.

Looking from south to north.

1. əɾqʌrluktut nunaˈn — the land of the bad speakers (i. e. the conifers). A thicket to the south of Hikoligjuaq.
2. aukʒɛˈvɛt — the place where one waits for something to melt, for instance the snow from the land. A locality near Upper Kazan River.
3. pʌˈtlɛˈrʊʌq — the big thicket. A locality near Upper Kazan River quite close to Hikoligjuaq. A much frequented spring and summer settlement.



Sketch-Map IX.
Lake Hikoligjuaq and environs. Drawn by Igjugárjuk. Looking from south to north.

4. ivjærtarwik — the peat bog. A stretch of tundra close to the river.
5. koŋaq — the river. Runs out into Hikoligjuaq. Famed for its musk oxen, the nearest to the lake.
6. tulima'ligjuaq mikijəq — the little one furnished with ribs. Presumably the name arises from the fact that the wind often blows here, causing movement in the lake. tulima'siərpəq is said about the wind when it makes choppy seas. In this case it is thus: the little lake with the big choppy billows. The adjective mikijəq is added in contrast to tulima'ligjuaq, which is the name of the big Dubawnt Lake.
7. ko'nuaq — the little river. A swift tributary to Kazan River.
8. toŋliuartalik — the one with the many great northern divers. In this case: a lake.
9. sar^wartəq — the one with the strong current. The lower course of Kazan River.
10. qikertalugjuaq — the big island. Lies in a broad part of Kazan River.
11. nahikta'rtə'r^wik — the look-out place. Favourite settlement in spring, during the migrating period of the caribou.
12. qahul'rāt'aut — the place where the wind drops now and then.
13. qin'əq — the inner cove. Lies on the north shore of Hikoligjuaq. A district where there are musk oxen.
14. nilaligjuaq — the place that is generally full of ice. A locality near No. 5, likewise known as a place frequented by musk oxen.
15. qamana^uaq — the broad. In the lower course of Kazan River.
16. auläcivik — the waving place (for caribou hunting). In this case a narrow point just at the outlet of Lower Kazan River.
17. mə'rjuŋə'rjuaq — the place where it (i. e. the lake) disappears into Kazan River.
18. umə'viaq — the little wrecked one. A small island lying out in the very swift stream and resembling a wrecked canoe.
19. qikertajugjuk — the medium sized island. Lies in Hikoligjuaq.
20. mə're'rlə'rjuaq — the big, smooth dome. Here: a hill near to the lake, a favourite settlement during the spring wanderings of the caribou.
21. maniktəq — the smooth one. Here: a small ridge inside Hikoligjuaq.
22. kaŋe'rluk — the bay. Near Hikoligjuaq.
23. pualulilər^wet — the place where one sews mittens. A ridge near the lake. The name apparently arises from the fact

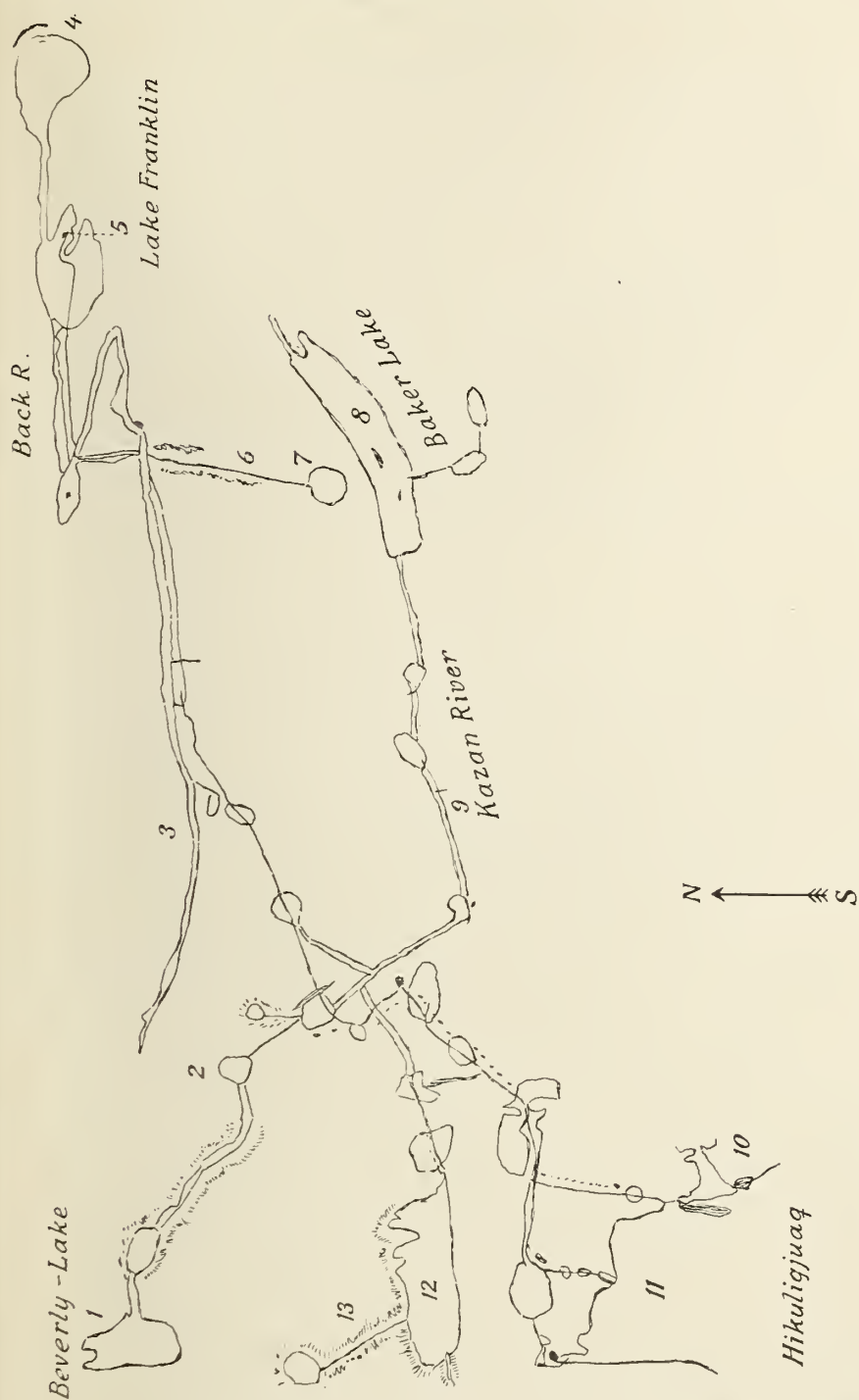
that a halt has once had to be made here unexpectedly in order to make new mittens.

24. himel'rotaq — the cork. See map IV, No. 6.
25. no'vut'juaq — the big point.
26. apərtin'iciāt — the place where the ice touches. Here: a point.
In spring, when the land waters collect along the shores of the lake and make it difficult to get out to the ice on the lake, travellers are compelled to make for the very few places where the waters have not cut the direct connection between the ice and the shore. This point is a place of this kind.
27. aviliare'k — the concubines. Here: two hills lying close together.
28. ihati'g'juaq — the outstretched one. Here: a very long and narrow point stretching out into the lake.
29. ha'b'liaruseq — the outside one. An island outside No. 28.
30. nara'jā'zāt — the bait. Here: a small, isolated island jutting up out of the lake — like bait put out for beasts of prey.
31. hikuli'g'juaq — see map IV, No. 5.
32. kār'alā'niarfi'na'q — the place where one is particularly fond of hunting thin-haired caribou (whose skins are used for tents; kār'alān — tent-skin of thin-haired caribou). Here: a crossing place in a lake close to No. 31.
33. ujarali'g'juaq — the stony one. Here: a locality south of No. 31. A favourite summer settlement.
34. kajəq — the red-brown one. A point on the south side of No. 31.
35. akut'ja'q — that lying between. Here: a point.
36. eqer'qəq — the little finger. Here: a frequently inhabited point.
37. tikera'r'juaq — the long fore-finger. A long narrow point jutting into the lake.
38. ha'qunəneq — the bend. A turn in Upper Kazan River.
39. uhukto'p nuna — see map IV, No. 9.

SKETCH-MAP X

*Lower Kazan River, Baker Lake and Lower Back River.
Drawn by Igjugârjuk. Looking almost from south to north.
The stippled line indicates Igjugârjuk's route from
Hikolig'juaq to the mouth of Back River.*

1. tibjalik — the place with the washed-up tree trunks. Here: Beverly Lake.
2. iglə'r'jualik — see map VIII, Nos. 36 and 37.



Sketch-Map X.

Lower Kazan River, Baker Lake and Lower Back River. Drawn by Igjugárjuk. Looking almost from south to north.

3. han'inajəq — the one lying across. Here: a part of Upper Back River.
4. uvkuhikjalingmiut tarajuāt — the tribe Uvkuhikjalingmiut's sea. Here: the bay outside the delta of Back River.
5. uvkuhikjalingmiut nunat — the tribe U's land. Here: the country round Lake Franklin.
6. ahiaṭəq — the very deserted place. Tributary of Back River.
7. tahilu'gjuaq — the big lake.
8. qamane'rjuaq — the big broad. Here: Baker Lake.
9. ha'r^wartəq — Kazan River. See the foregoing map.
10. məṭe'r^Lrər'juaq — hill at Hikoligjuaq. See map IX, No. 20.
11. hikuli'gjuaq — see the foregoing map.
12. tulima'lu'gjuaq — the big one furnished with rib bones. See explanation to map IX, No. 6.
13. ko'kta^uhau'k — their river. Here: the name of a river running from No. 12 to another big lake, the name of which is not known.

SKETCH-MAP XI

Igjugârjuk's sledge route from Hikoligjuaq to Churchill. Drawn by himself. Seen approximately from north-west to south-east.

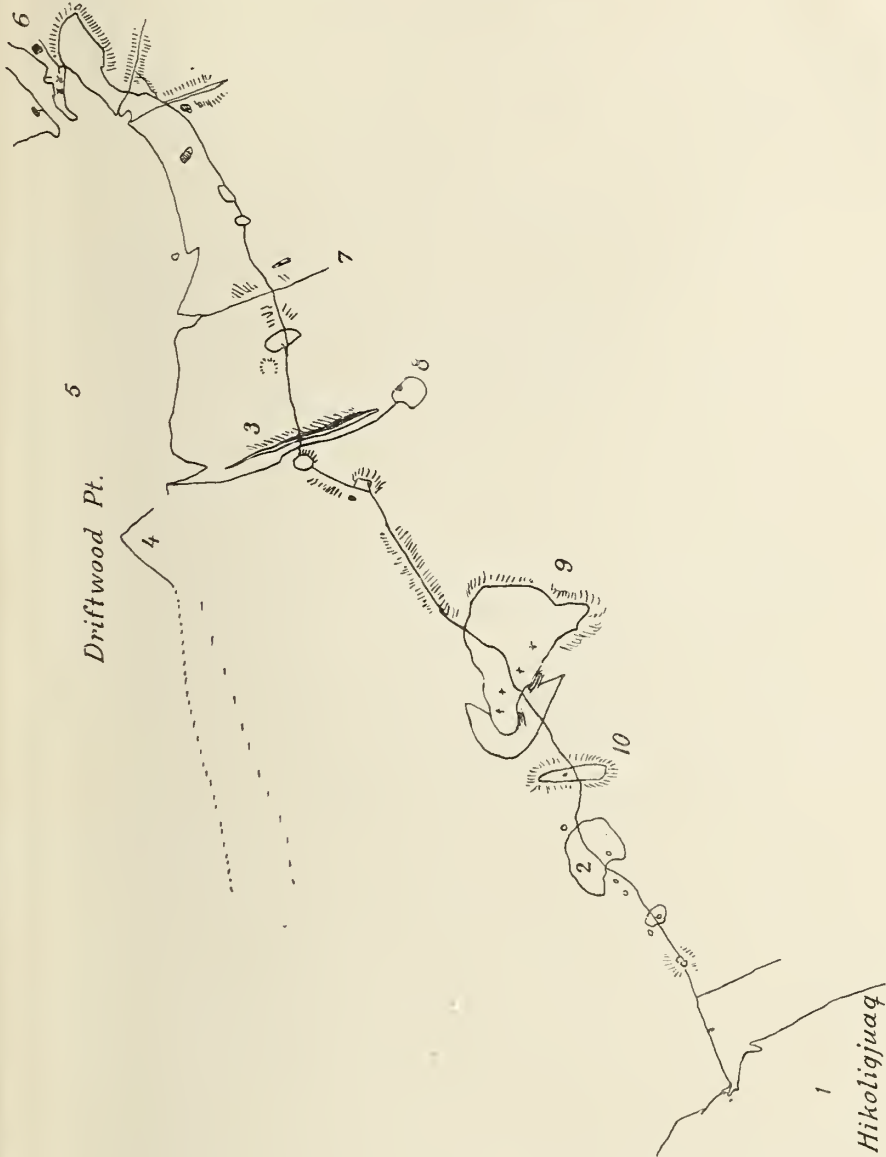
Possibly this map is not so easy to identify, but it is included for the purpose of illustrating what huge areas some energetic Eskimos can travel over. Igjugârjuk made trading journeys to Churchill before the post at Chesterfield was established. It was a very difficult journey, on which the start was usually made in autumn or in early winter, only returning in spring. These were regular trading trips, formerly made by the enterprising men among the Caribou Eskimos who desired to trade direct with the white man. The journey to the mouth of Back River, was, however, made by Igjugârjuk as a trader. After having saved up fox skins for a few seasons he bought from the post at Chesterfield as many trade goods as he could load on his sledge, and then drove to the Uvkuhikjalingmiut, who had no direct connection with trading posts. There he spent the winter, meeting saltwater dwellers from the Northwest Passage, sold his goods at big profits and at the same time learned to know the habits and customs of strangers.

1. hikoligjuaq — see the foregoing map.
2. kakiātə'rjuaq — means *either*: the big hard one *or* the big clear one. Here: the name of a lake and, in the former meaning of the word refers to the fact that the lake,

where it is very windy, always has smoothly swept, hard ice and no deep, soft snow as at so many other places on the route. In the other meaning, if that is the right one, it refers to the lake having clear, pellucid water.

3. *kiñimaneq* — the high ground. A ridge, stretching from the interior out towards the shores of Hudson Bay.
4. *no·vuk* — the point. Here it apparently means Driftwood Point.
5. *tarajəq* — the sea. Here: Hudson Bay.
6. *ko·gjuəq* — the big river. The Eskimo name for Churchill.
7. *icərnizəq* — the one of olden times, the ancient one. Here: a large river. It is said that it was here that the body-snatcher in the tale: "How the fog came", in the form of a bear pursued a man who, with the help of magic words put all kinds of obstacles in the way of his pursuer. At this place he let a river well out of the ground, and when the bear began to drink the water in order to empty the river for the purpose of crossing, it burst and turned into fog. Hence the name: the one of olden times.
8. *qamaneq* — the broad.
9. *han·iñajə·rjuəq* — the big one lying across. Here: the name of a big lake.
10. *imak·uluk* — the fairly big lake.

Churchill



Sketch-Map XI.

Igjugarjuk's sledge route from Hikoligjuaq to Churchill. Drawn by himself. Seen approximately from north-west to south-east.

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